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THE HITLER DECREES

POLLOCK AND HENEMAN



SECOND EDITION

1934
GEORGE WAHR
ANN ARBOR

THE HITLER DECREES

BY
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PREFACE

SINCE January 30, 1933 the government of Germany has been in the hands of Adolf Hitler and his advisers. Under their direction, the whole fabric of government has been fundamentally changed. The democratic, parliamentary regime with which Germany was governed under the Weimar Constitution has been supplanted, and the new government, when strongly entrenched in power, has gone about to alter every phase of German life, cultural, religious, social, economic, as well as political. These new measures are of great interest and significance. Together they constitute a new approach to the solution of Germany's problems. They are also of particular value to students of government and politics.

With these facts in mind, the authors have endeavored to present in brief compass a translation of the most important and characteristic laws and regulations which have been put into effect in recent months in Germany. In order that the transition to the Hitler regime may be understood, we have also included in this collection a number of laws and decrees which were promulgated prior to the complete accession to power of the National Socialist party, as well as a brief introduction which recites the essential facts in the transition from Dr. Brüning to Chancellor Hitler. Because of their general interest and interpretive value, we have also included several other documents, including the program of the National Socialist party, and selections from the speeches of Chancellor Hitler.

We have not thought it necessary to explain the various selections which appear. They speak for themselves. They are all taken from official sources, or as in the case of the speeches and the party program, from authorized publications or translations. Our sole desire has been to make available as soon as possible in convenient form the documents which show the significant changes which have taken place in recent months in Germany.

JAMES K. POLLOCK
HARLOW J. HENEMAN

Ann Arbor
January 15, 1934

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE demand for the first edition of "The Hitler Decrees" has necessitated the preparation of a new edition. We have taken the opportunity to bring the work up to date and to completely revise it by eliminating provisions which have been superseded and by rearranging the selections. We have also inserted the date after the title of each selection so that the chronological development of the Hitler government can be followed more easily. These dates occasionally vary from those given in the citations in the table of contents because the former are the dates when the laws were prepared and the latter dates are for the times of their appearance in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. As in the first edition, the selections consist of translations from the official documents of the most important measures dealing with the structure of the government. We have not chosen to include numerous economic, social, and religious laws.

JAMES K. POLLOCK
HARLOW J. HENEMAN

Ann Arbor
September 15, 1934

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN Adolf Hitler was made Chancellor of Germany in January, 1933, the end of parliamentary government, as established by the Weimar constitution, became a reality. In the brief span of twelve years the movement led by this ex-corporal of the army had assumed such proportions that he and his party were called to office. Whereas National Socialism's ascent to power in 1933 marked the eclipse of democratic government in Germany, the change from the Weimar system to Hitler's Third Reich was not as abrupt as is sometimes thought. The institutions of republican Germany began their retrogression three years before President von Hindenburg called Hitler to head the government. Hermann Müller's resignation from the chancellorship in 1930 really marked the beginning of the end of true parliamentary government. His successor, Heinrich Brüning, tried to maintain as great and as real a façade of democratic government as circumstances would permit. He was able to do so only under great difficulties, however. While he was chancellor, the Reichstag met in brief sessions from time to time and would have met more often if it had not been a handicap rather than a help. From 1930 to 1933, the legislative body functioned with difficulty. Because of this fact, the parliamentary system could not work normally and it became necessary for Brüning to govern by means of presidential decrees under Article 48 of the constitution.

The problems confronting chancellor Brüning during his term in office were not new ones. Rather, they were old ones greatly intensified. The large domestic issues requiring attention were those of unemployment, aid to agriculture, aid to industry, problems of taxation, and the maintenance of a sound currency. In the international sphere the question of reparation payments and payments on Germany's private debts were most pressing. Also important, was the necessity of satisfying the public at home by securing the revision of the peace treaties, especially those clauses concerning war guilt, armaments and territorial settlements. Criticisms of the government's policies in dealing with all of these problems were without end. The German Nationalists and the National Socialists, in particular, spared no efforts to make use of the world economic crisis as a cause for domestic political action.

Brüning's already heavy load was made no lighter by the character of the political situation which confronted him. When he came into office he had intended to secure support for his cabinet from the Center over through the German National People's party. The Social Democrats had already informed him that they would go into opposition to his ministry. However, Herr Hugenberg's wing of the Nationalists refused to co-operate with Brüning and the new chancellor was in difficulties at once. He secured the dissolution of the Reichstag and new elections were held in September, 1930. Although the

attempt to cripple Hugenberg's party was successful, a new problem arose on the extreme Right in the presence of a greatly strengthened National Socialist party which had made sensational gains at the polls. It has often been said that if the National Socialists had been taken into the government in 1930, that much of what has happened in Germany since then would never have occurred. But whatever attempts might have been made to bring about a union, the fact is that Brüning and Hitler were unable to come to an agreement and this new force went into strong opposition. This necessitated a change in Brüning's plans and pushed him to the Left, where he had to seek support from the Social Democrats. The latter supported his cabinet not so much because they sympathized with all of his policies, but because they regarded him as a bulwark against national reaction.

In the first half of 1932, opposition to the cabinet became so great in so many different quarters that Brüning was forced to resign from office. The chancellor's attitude toward big business, the eastern landowners and Hitler's Brown Army resulted in abuse being heaped upon him from several influential quarters. His lack of vigorous action in regard to reparations and treaty revision was roundly criticized. His co-operation with the socialists was said to show that he was tinged with Marxism. It is known that many persons close to President von Hindenburg who desired a government of "national concentration" to lead in a national "awakening" believed that Brüning was not the man to head such a government. Whatever favor the chancellor may have enjoyed in the president's eyes was undermined and destroyed beyond repair. In May, 1932, Brüning was forced from office not because he had lost the support of a majority in the Reichstag, but because he no longer enjoyed the president's confidence.

Franz von Papen then replaced Brüning as chancellor. He tried to remain in office in spite of a Reichstag which was hostile to him and his reactionary cabinet of nobles. He secured the dissolution of two Reichstags but never succeeded in finding wide-spread popular support for his government. Von Papen was a great favorite of von Hindenburg's, however, and persuaded the aged president to use his powers under Articles 25 and 48 of the constitution in such a way as to provide several well-aimed blows at the tottering figure of German parliamentary democracy.

Kurt von Schleicher, who followed von Papen as chancellor, was also unable to remain long in office. It became increasingly apparent by the end of 1932 that no one could hope to govern with so large a group as the National Socialists in opposition. By January, 1933, von Papen's schemes to oust General von Schleicher had advanced to the stage where von Hindenburg's confidence in the general was destroyed. Von Schleicher was forced to resign from the chancellorship and was, in turn, replaced by Adolf Hitler. The transition from Weimar to Potsdam was now completed. After National Socialism came to power, changes in the forms and in the fundamentals of German government followed one another in rapid succession.

The first eighteen months of Hitler's rule have been accompanied by tremendous changes in every phase of German life. The National Socialist

revolution has not been confined to the field of politics, but has brought alterations in the economic and social aspects of German society as well. In government, old institutions have been abolished or altered almost beyond recognition. New institutions and new methods of procedure have been established. The federal system, as known for decades, has disappeared; true representative government has become a thing of the past; one political party has come to dominate the state. Where legal methods of securing a change have been deemed too slow or too uncertain, force and terror have sometimes been resorted to. The result of these changes has brought a centralization of authority and power almost without parallel in the modern world. With President von Hindenburg's death on August 2, 1934, and with the assumption of his powers by Chancellor Hitler, this centralization has become complete.

Of considerable importance has been the shift in personalities within the National Socialist party. Thirteen years of appeal to discontent brought together a heterogeneous mass of people who could cooperate to overthrow the established order. But when the time came for constructive government there were bound to be differences of opinion and a parting of the ways within Hitler's party. All of those who could share in making a revolution were not assets in the formation of policy after the revolution. Those persons who ceased to be assets were summarily eliminated by the events of the end of June and of the first of July, 1934. The stamping out of the Röhm "revolt" left the government and the National Socialist party a free hand to turn to the Saar and to menacing economic problems.

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THE HITLER DECREES

I

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKER'S PARTY

The program of the National Socialist German Worker's party is a time program. The leaders decline, after achievement of the purposes laid down in the program, to set up new goals only for the purpose of making possible the continuance of the party through the artificially stimulated dissatisfaction of the masses.

1. We demand the union of all Germans in one Great Germany by the right of self-determination of peoples.

2. We demand the equality of the German nation with all other nations and abrogation of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the feeding of our people and for the settlement of our surplus population.

4. Only those who are members of the nation can be citizens. Only those who are of German blood, without regard to religion, can be members of the German nation. No Jew can, therefore, be a member of the nation.

5. He who is not a citizen shall be able to live in Germany only as a guest and must live under laws governing foreigners.

6. The right to decide on the leadership and on the laws of the state may belong only to citizens. Therefore we demand that every public office, of whatever sort, whether of the Reich, of the states, or of the communes, shall be filled only by citizens. We fight against the corrupting parliamentary system of filling offices with people chosen because of their party viewpoint without regard to character and ability.

7. We demand that the state be obliged, in the first instance, to provide the possibility of work and life for the citizen. If it is not possible to feed the entire population of the state, the subjects of foreign states (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. All further immigration of non-Germans is to be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since the second of August, 1914 shall be compelled to leave the Reich immediately.

9. All citizens must possess the same rights and duties.

10. The first duty of every citizen is to work productively with mind or body. The activities of individuals must not transgress the interests of the community but must be for the common good.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

11. The elimination of income which is acquired without labor or effort.

BREAKING OF THE INTEREST SLAVERY

12. Out of regard to the frightful sacrifice in goods and blood which every war demands from the nation, personal enrichment through war must be designated as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, summary confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all trusts.

14. We demand profit-sharing in large concerns.

15. We demand a large scale extension of the old-age pension system.

16. We demand the creation of a sound middle class and its maintenance, immediate communalization of large department stores and their rental at low cost to small merchants, the strictest control of all small merchants in their dealings with the national government, the states or the communes.

17. We demand land reform adapted to our national needs, the enactment of a law for the uncompensated expropriation of land for public purposes, the elimination of land interest and the prevention of land speculation.*

18. We demand the most ruthless campaign against everyone who injures the public interest by his actions. Those who commit crimes against the people, usurers, profiteers and so forth, must be punished by death, without respect to religion or race.

19. We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a legal system for all Germany.

20. In order to make possible the attainment of higher education for every capable and industrious German and thereby the entrance into a leading position, the state has the responsibility of providing for a fundamental extension of our entire educational system. The teaching plans of all educational institutions must be adapted to the demands of practical life. An understanding of national consciousness must be taught to the children at the earliest possible age. We demand the education at state expense of especially gifted children of poor parents without regard to profession or position.

21. The state must care for the improvement of the people's health through the protection of mother and child, through the forbidding of child-labor, through development of physical capability by means of legislative provision

*An "explanation" of this section of the program was added by Hitler on April 13, 1928, as follows: "In reply to the lying expositions of Point XVII of the program of the National Socialist party which our opponents have made, the following declaration is necessary. Since the National Socialist party stands firmly for the principle of private property, it is self-evident that the passage 'to expropriate without compensation' can only apply to the creation of laws concerning land which has been illegally acquired or which has not been administered according to the common good and which, therefore, should be expropriated when necessary. Such action is directed in the first place against Jewish companies engaged in land speculation."

of a gymnastic and sports duty and through the greatest support of all associations engaged in physical education of youth.

22. We demand the abolition of the mercenary army and the formation of a people's army.

23. We demand legislative action against conscious political lies and their propagation through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that:

(a) All editors and contributors of newspapers which appear in German, must be citizens,

(b) Non-German newspapers must have the special permission of the state in order to be published. They shall not be allowed to be published in the German language,

(c) Every financial participation in German newspapers or the influencing by non-Germans is to be forbidden and we demand as punishment for violation the closing of such newspaper plant, as well as the immediate expulsion from the Reich of the participating non-German.

Newspapers which work against the public welfare are to be forbidden. We demand legislative action against an artistic and literary tendency which exerts a destructive influence over our national life and the closing of institutions which conflict with these demands.

24. We demand the freedom of all religions in the state in so far as they do not endanger its welfare or offend against the morals and sense of decency of the German race.

The party as such represents the standpoint of a positive Christianity without binding itself to a particular belief. It fights the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without and is convinced that a permanent convalescence of our nation can only succeed from within on the foundation of:

PUBLIC INTEREST BEFORE PRIVATE INTEREST

25. For the carrying out of all these we demand: The creation of a strong central power in the Reich; absolute authority of the political central parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations.

The formation of professional and trade chambers for the carrying out of the general laws of the Reich in the individual federal states.

The leaders of the party promise to work ruthlessly for the carrying out of the points above set forth even to the extent of risking their lives for the program.

Munich, February 24, 1920

Signed, ADOLPH HITLER

II

LAW TO COMBAT THE NATIONAL CRISIS

(March 24, 1933)

The Reichstag has enacted the following law which, with the consent of the Reichsrat and after determination that the requirements for laws changing the constitution have been complied with, is hereby promulgated:

Article 1

National laws can be enacted by the national cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the constitution. This applies also to the laws referred to in article 85, paragraph 2, and in article 87 of the constitution.

Article 2

The national laws enacted by the national cabinet may deviate from the constitution insofar as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag and the Reichsrat. The powers of the president remain undisturbed.

Article 3

The national laws enacted by the national cabinet are prepared by the chancellor and published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. They come into effect, unless otherwise specified, upon the day following their publication. Articles 68 to 77 of the constitution do not apply to the laws enacted by the national cabinet.

Article 4

Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which concern matters of national legislation do not require the consent of the bodies participating in legislation. The national cabinet is empowered to issue the necessary provisions for the execution of these treaties.

Article 5

This law becomes effective on the day of its publication. It becomes invalid on April 1st 1937; it further becomes invalid when the present national cabinet is replaced by another.
Berlin, March 24th, 1933.

The National President
von Hindenburg
The National Chancellor
Adolph Hitler
The National Minister of the Interior
Frick
The National Minister of Foreign Affairs
Freiherr von Neurath
The National Minister of Finances
Count Schwerin von Krosigk

III

SECOND LAW FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE STATES
WITH THE REICH

(April 7, 1933)

1

(1) In the German states, with the exception of Prussia, the national president, upon the proposal of the national chancellor, is to name the national governor. The national governor has the function of requiring the observance of the general policy laid down by the national chancellor. The following powers of state authority belong to him:

1. Appointment and removal of the head of the state cabinet, and upon his proposal, the other members of the state cabinet;
 2. Dissolution of the legislature and designation of the new election subject to the rule of section 8 of the temporary law of March 31, 1933, for the unification of the German states;
 3. Preparation and publication of state laws, including the laws which are determined upon by the state cabinet according to section 1 of the temporary law of March 31, 1933, for the unification of the German states. Article 70 of the constitution of August 11, 1919, applies accordingly;
 4. Upon the proposal of the state cabinet, appointment and dismissal of the higher state officials and judges, so far as this formerly was accomplished by the highest state officials;
 5. The power of pardon.
- (2) The national governor may preside over the meetings of the state cabinet.

(3) Article 63 of the German constitution of August 11, 1919 remains unaltered.

2

(1) A national governor may not be, at the same time, a member of a state cabinet. He shall belong to the state whose sovereign powers he exercises. His official residence is at the seat of the state cabinet.

(2) For several states, in each of which there are less than 2 million inhabitants, a common national governor, who must be a resident of one of these states, may be named. The national president will designate the governor's official residence.

3

(1) The national governor is appointed for the duration of a state legislative period. He can be recalled at any time by the national president on the proposal of the chancellor.

(2) The provisions of the national ministry law of March 27, 1930, find appropriate application to the office of national governor. His remuneration is borne by the Reich; the establishment of its size remains unsettled.

4

Votes of no confidence of the state legislature against the head and the members of the state cabinet are not permissible.

5

(1) In Prussia, the national chancellor exercises the rights specified in section 1. He may transfer the rules named in Article 1, paragraph 1, figures 4 and 5 to the state cabinet.

(2) Members of the national cabinet may, at the same time, be members of the Prussian state cabinet.

6

This law goes into effect on the day after its proclamation. Contrary provisions of the national constitution of August 11, 1919, and of the state constitutions are suspended. So far as state constitutions provide for the office of a state president, these provisions go out of force with the naming of a national governor.

IV

LAW FOR THE ALTERATION OF THE LAW CREATING NATIONAL GOVERNORS

(April 25, 1933)

Section 5, paragraph 1 of the second law for the unification of the states with the Reich of April 7, 1933, is to receive the following construction:

(1) In Prussia, the national chancellor exercises the rights named in section 1. He may transfer to the minister president the exercise of the rights named in section 1, paragraph 1, under figures 3 to 5: The minister president is authorized to transfer these powers further.

V

SECOND LAW FOR THE ALTERATION OF THE LAW CONCERNING THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL GOVERNOR

(May 26, 1933)

1

The second law for the unification of the states with the Reich, of April 7, 1933, and as amended by the law of April 25, 1933, will be altered as follows:

- a) section 1 will contain the following paragraph 2:
“(2) The national governor may in part, transfer the exercise of the powers named in paragraph 1 under figures 4 and 5 to the state governments which are authorized to transfer these powers further.”
- b) The former paragraph 2 of section 1, becomes paragraph 3; the former paragraph 3 will be paragraph 4.

2

This law becomes operative as of April 8, 1933.

VI

DECREE CONCERNING THE OFFICIAL REMUNERATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNOR

(June 1, 1933)

1

(1) The national governors receive the following official remuneration:
a) an official salary,

1. the national governors for Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, Baden, Thuringia, Hesse, Oldenburg/Bremen, Hamburg, Brunswick/Anhalt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin/Mecklenburg-Strelitz/Lübeck equal to the official salary of a national cabinet minister.
2. the national governor for Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe receives as his official salary an amount equal to the basic salary of a secretary of state in the Reich.

The national governors will be assigned an official residence. So far as that is not possible the national governors mentioned under 1 will receive an allowance for residence of 4,600 marks yearly, those national governors mentioned under 2 will receive an allowance for residence of 2,400 marks yearly.

b) a compensation for expenditures incurred for official expenses, the size of which shall be determined in the budget.

(2) In other cases the provisions of sections 14 to 24 of the national ministry law of March 27, 1930, are to apply. Then pension and sickness allowances of the national governors as well as the sickness allowances of their dependents are subject to the same reduction and disbursement regulations as the corresponding incomes of the national ministers and their dependents.

2

This decree becomes effective as of April 1, 1933.

VII

DECREE CONCERNING THE OFFICIAL SEAT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS

(June 18, 1933)

The national governors who have been appointed for several states have their seats as follows:

- (a) the national governor for Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Lübeck, and Mecklenburg-Strelitz in Schwerin,
- (b) the national governor for Oldenburg and Bremen in Oldenburg,
- (c) the national governor for Brunswick and Anhalt in Dessau,
- (d) the national governor for Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe in Detmold.

VIII

THIRD LAW ALTERING THE LAW PROVIDING FOR
NATIONAL GOVERNORS

(October 14, 1933)

1

Section 3, paragraph 1 of the second law for unification of the states with the Reich, of April 7, 1933, shall receive the following interpretation:

"(1) The national governor may be removed at any time by the national president upon proposal of the national chancellor."

IX

LAW CONCERNING THE STATE GOVERNMENT

(July 17, 1933)

1

(1) Where laws and ordinances regulate the duties of the state government, the individual minister of state exercises the jurisdiction thereby granted in place of his own legal jurisdiction, if the ministry of state does not reserve for itself the right to decide on the matter.

(2) The provision of section 1 requires that the competent minister consult with the other ministers with whose jurisdiction he may interfere in the exercise of his powers.

2

The minister president regulates according to law the departmental competence of the individual ministers of state after consulting the ministry of state.

3

The minister president designates the minister of state who is to represent him in case of his inability to be present.

The minister president may decree an order of business for the conduct of the affairs of the ministry of state.

4

This law goes into effect on the day following its promulgation.

X

LAW CONCERNING THE PRUSSIAN COUNCIL OF STATE

(July 8, 1933)

1

The council of state advises the ministry of state in the direction of public business.

2

The council of state is composed of:

1. the minister president and the ministers of state, ex officio.
2. not more than 50 persons, appointed by the minister president.

3

The members of the council of state carry the following official title: Prussian State Councillor.

4

(1) Only one who is at least 25 years old and who possesses the rights of a German citizen may be appointed to the council of state. He must have his domicile in one of the Prussian provinces. The following cannot be appointed to the council of state: a national minister, unless he is at the same time a Prussian minister, a national governor, a member of a non-Prussian state cabinet, as well as officials of the national government or of a non-Prussian state.

(2) Exceptions to the provisions of paragraph 1, sentences 2 and 3 are only permissible in so far as they comply with Section 5.

5

The minister president appoints the councillors of state from the following groups:

Group 1: secretaries of state.

Group 2: The chief of staff of all the storm troops, the national chief of the pretorian guard, the staff leader of the PO, the district leaders of the national socialist German workers' party for the Prussian territorial divisions, and the several superior group leaders of the storm troops and group leaders of the pretorian guard. The provisions of Section 4, sentences 2 and 3 do not apply to the appointment of the chief of staff of the entire storm troops, or of the national chief of the pretorian guard. If these provisions for the district leaders of the national socialist German workers' party, the divisional chiefs of the storm troops, and the group leaders of the pretorian guard, do not arise, the minister president may name in their places various other national socialist officials, or other leaders of the storm troops or the pretorian guard.

Group 3: Representatives of the church, capital, labor, science, and art, and others deserving of recognition because of service to the state and the people.

6

(1) The minister president, the ministers of state, and the secretaries of state belong to the council of state for the duration of their offices; the councillors of state of group 2 of section 5, for the duration of their offices in the national socialist movement; the councillors of state of the third group of section 5, for life.

(2) Membership in the council of state of the councillors of group 3 of section 5, ceases if the minister president decides that the conditions on the basis of which they were appointed no longer obtain.

(3) Membership ceases also if the minister president promises a councillor a further recognition of his honored position, or if he promises the councillor one of the honors corresponding in circumstance and position to that of councillor of state.

7

(1) The president of the council of state is the minister president. He may empower a minister of state to direct a meeting in his absence.

(2) The minister president appoints, from among the councillors of state, a secretary, who handles the clerical matters of the council. The administrative business of the council of state is conducted by the business office of the ministry of state.

(3) The minister president gives the council of state its standing orders.

8

(1) The council of state meets when it is summoned by the minister president. The minister president fixes the order of the day for the sessions.

(2) The minister president or the minister substituting for him, opens the meeting of the council of state; he may adjourn it at any time, without regard to the stage reached in the discussion.

9

The councillors of state are obliged to take part in all meetings, unless they are excused by the minister president.

10

(1) The councillors express their opinions on proposals which come before the council of state. Important laws shall be laid before the council of state before their promulgation. If a councillor of state decides that discussion of such a matter is desirable, he advises the minister president of this, with a declaration of his reasons; the minister president has the final decision as to whether the suggestion is to be complied with.

(2) The council of state does not vote.

11

The meetings of the council of state are not public.

12

The national chancellor may demand the summoning of the council of state. He may appear before the council at any time, and be heard.

13

Officials, employees, and workers of the state, of Prussian municipalities and municipal associations, and of the various Prussian corporations of public law, do not require leave of absence to exercise their offices as councillors of state; their salaries and wages are paid as usual.

14

The office of councillor of state is an office of honor. The councillors of state enjoy free railroad transportation and paid representation allowances according to decrees which the ministry of state issues. Renunciation of paid expenses is not lawful.

15

(1) This law goes into effect on the day following its promulgation. With its coming into force, the former council of state is dissolved. The president of the former council of state relinquishes his office at least by the first meeting of the new council of state, at the business office of the ministry of state.

(2) The fourth section of the Prussian constitution and the law of Dec. 16, 1920 concerning elections for the council of state, are no longer in force.

XI

DECREE CONCERNING THE PRUSSIAN COUNCIL OF STATE

(July 10, 1933)

1

The representation allowance of councillors of state amounts to 1000 marks per month. If the councillors of state live in greater Berlin or Potsdam, the representation allowance amounts to 500 marks per month.

2

Payment begins with the first of the month in which the first meeting of the council of state takes place.

3

Payment is in the same manner as is that of the state officials for their services to the state, and goes directly through the business office of the ministry of state.

XII

AMENDMENT OF THE LAW CONCERNING THE PRUSSIAN COUNCIL OF STATE

(July 31, 1933)

ARTICLE I

1

The law of July 8, 1933 pertaining to the council of state is changed as follows:

1. Section 2 reads as follows:

The Council of State is composed of the minister president, the ministers of state, and the secretaries of state, ex officio. The remaining members are named by the minister president.

2. In section 5 the words "group 1: Secretaries of State" are stricken out.
3. In sections 5 and 6 the words "group 1" supplant the words "group 2," and the words "group 2" supplant the words "group 3."

ARTICLE II

In section 2, No. 1 of the law of July 17, 1933, pertaining to the provincial council, the words "resident councillors of state of groups 2 and 3" are supplanted by the words "resident councillors of state named by the minister president."

XIII

LAW CONSERVING THE IMMUNITY OF LEGISLATORS

(June 23, 1933)

1

The necessary permission for actions under article 37, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the constitution against members of the Reichstag or of a state legislature may, when the Reichstag or state legislature is not in session, be granted by a committee which is to be appointed by the house. Until the committee has been appointed, the president of the house may, until the main court trial, temporarily permit prosecutions, arrests and other restrictions of personal freedom to be instituted.

2

The committee also exercises the right possessed by the house under article 37, paragraph 3 of the constitution, to demand the cancelling of measures against members of the house, when the Reichstag or the state legislature is not in session.

XIV

LAW CONCERNING THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

(July 17, 1933)

ARTICLE I

In the place of sections 10 to 15 of the law of July 30, 1883, pertaining to the general provincial administration, . . . the following provisions take effect:

1

The provincial council advises the chief president (*Oberpräsident*) and the district governors (*Regierungspräsidenten*) in the execution of their duties. The chief president is president of the provincial council.

2

The provincial council is composed of:

1. Ex officio, besides the chief president, the councillors of state of the 2nd and 3rd groups (Sec. 5 of the law of July 8, 1933, pertaining to the Council of State) who live in the province, the district governors of the province, and the provincial director (*Landeshauptmann*);
2. Persons appointed by the minister president to the number specified in the attached schedule.

3

The members of the provincial council carry the following official title: Prussian provincial councillor.

4

Only one who is at least 25 years of age and who possesses the rights of a German citizen may be appointed to the provincial council. He must have his domicile in the province. National government ministers, national governors, members of a non-Prussian state government, as well as an official of the nation or of a non-Prussian territory, cannot be appointed to the provincial council.

5

(1) The minister president appoints the provincial councillors from the following groups:

Group 1: Regional leaders of the National Socialist German Workers' party, as well as the higher leaders of the storm troops (S.A.) and of the pretorian guard (S.S.).

Group 2: Men of the province who have served the state and the people.

(2) The members shall be appointed from both groups in the proportion shown by the attached schedule.

6

(1) The chief president, the district governors, the councillors of state, and the provincial director belong to the provincial council for the duration of their offices; the provincial councillors of Group 1 of section 5, as long as they retain their positions in the national socialist movement; the provincial councillors of Group 2 of section 5, for life.

(2) Membership in the provincial council ceases for provincial councillors of Group 2 of section 5, if the minister president decides that the suppositions, on the basis of which the appointment was made, no longer obtain.

(3) Membership also ceases if the minister president refuses to recognize a provincial councillor's inviolable integrity, or if he refuses to recognize the conduct or behavior of a provincial councillor as corresponding to the dignity of the office.

7

(1) In case of his absence, the chief president is represented by the district governor oldest in point of service; if they are equal in terms of service, seniority in terms of age will be the determining factor.

(2) The chief president appoints a secretary from among the provincial councillors. He gives the provincial council an order of business.

(3) The administrative business of the provincial council is conducted through the office of the chief president.

8

(1) The provincial council meets when summoned by the chief president. The chief president determines the order of the day for the meetings.

(2) The chief president, or the district governor substituting for him, opens the meetings of the provincial council; he may adjourn them at any time without regard to the status of the discussion.

9

The provincial councillors are obliged to take part in all the meetings, unless they are excused by the chief president.

10

(1) The provincial councillors express their opinions on proposals which come before the provincial council. If a provincial councillor decides that the discussion of such a matter would be desirable, he informs the chief president of this, along with an exposition of his reasons; the chief president finally decides whether or not the suggestion is to be considered.

(2) The provincial council does not vote.

11

The meetings of the provincial council are not public.

12

The minister president and the ministers of state may order the summoning of the provincial council at any time; they may appear before the provincial council at any time, and be heard.

13

Officials, employees, and workers of the state, of Prussian municipalities and of local districts, and the other Prussian bodies of public law, need no furlough for the exercising of their offices as provincial councillors; their salaries and wages will continue to be paid.

14

The office of provincial councillor is an honorary office. The provincial councillors named in section 5 receive compensation for their traveling expenses and receive expenses according to decrees issued by the ministry of state. Renunciation of paid expenses is not permissible.

15

The district governor of Sigmaringen belongs to the provincial council of the Rhine province. Also one of the appointed members of this provincial council shall have his domicile in the district of Hohenzollern.

16

A special ruling applies to the City of Berlin.

ARTICLE II

Article 86 of the constitution is annulled.

ARTICLE III

(1) The provincial councils formed by sections 10 to 15 of the law of July 30, 1883, providing for the general state administration, are superseded.

(2) Decisions, which the provincial council was competent to deal with, are dealt with by the chief president.

(3) The power formerly possessed by the provincial councils to consent to the measures of an administrative officer no longer exists.

ARTICLE IV

The provisions regarding the organization and the competence of the state cultural division (*Landeskulturabteilung*) of the provisional council remain as before.

ARTICLE V

(1) The minister of the interior is given power to execute the law.

(2) The law goes into effect on the day following its promulgation.

Schedule

<i>Province</i>	<i>No. of members of prov. councils appointed according to Sect. 5</i>	<i>Of which the following pertain to:</i>	
		Group I	Group II
East Prussia	15	10	5
Brandenburg	15	10	5
Pomerania	11	7	4
Posen-West Prussian Mark	5	3	2
Lower Silesia	15	10	5
Upper Silesia	11	7	4
Saxony	15	10	5
Schleswig-Holstein	11	7	4
Hanover	15	10	5
Westphalia	21	14	7
Rhine province	25	16	9
Hesse-Nassau	15	10	5

XV

LAW UNITING MECKLENBURG-STRELITZ WITH
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN

(December 15, 1933)

1

The state of Mecklenburg-Strelitz is united with the state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to constitute the one state of Mecklenburg.

2

As a consequence of the union, all citizens of the states of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz acquire Mecklenburg citizenship. The citizenship of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is extinguished.

3

The law becomes effective on January 1, 1934.

XVI

GENERAL PRUSSIAN MUNICIPAL CODE

(December 15, 1933)

The function of a state which serves the people is to reconcile state authority with the freedom of the people.

Baron von Stein attempted to begin a solution of this task when he opened up to peasants and citizens a way to self-government which awakened the common interest, eliminated selfishness and detestable grumbling and educated them by means of responsible cooperation to the necessities of the state. When state authority and genuine self-government deteriorated because the freedom degenerated into unrestrained self-seeking and irresponsibility with reference to the entire people, then Adolf Hitler brought about, in the organization of the NSDAP., true German freedom which in discipline and obedience toward the one responsible leader renounces selfishness and serves the whole people.

Wherever the young German citizen may be brought up, whether in the village, in the country or in the city, everywhere he shall be surrounded not only by the party which embodies the state but also by state administration and by self-government where the fundamental principles of freedom, authority and responsibility are bound together.

The coming generation must recognize the fundamental principles of honor and respect and the individual must consequently learn, in a proper understanding of his own interest, to limit his own desires and to direct his will above everything else for the maintenance of the welfare of the whole people and its fundamental principles.

Until a national law, in the near future, brings about a fundamental reform of the local government code for the entire Reich the Prussian ministry of state decrees this general municipal code which assures to community life the national socialist theory of the state and eliminates from local administration the threat of disorder.

PART I

.....

2

(1) There are peasant villages (*Bauerndörfer*), rural districts (*Landgemeinde*), and cities (*Städte*).

(2) Peasant villages are communities (*Gemeinde*) where the majority of the people belong to the peasantry. Cities are communities in which the right to be recognized as a city has been officially bestowed. The remaining communities are rural districts.

.....

4

(1) In peasant villages the head of the administration is the village mayor (*Dorfschulze*), in rural districts the rural district mayor (*Gemeindschulze*), in cities the mayor (*Bürgermeister*). In cities which do not belong to a county (*Landkreis*), the mayor carries the title of chief mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*).

(2) The head of the community carries the complete and exclusive responsibility for the administration of the community.

.....

6

The supervisory authorities promote the administration of community affairs and insure that they are carried on in the proper spirit.

.....

PART IV

27

(1) The head of the community, in carrying out his tasks, must strive exclusively to serve the welfare of the people, state, and community by placing general interests before special interests.

(2) The head of the community controls the administration and represents the community in its external relations. He carries complete and exclusive responsibility for all decisions.

(3) The head of the community determines the work of all officials, employees, and workers of the community. He appoints and dismisses them according to the provisions of the employment plan (*Stellenplan*).

.....

29

(1) To represent and assist the various village and rural mayors, magistrates are named; and for the mayors (*Bürgermeisters*), professional officials.

(2) The general representative of the village and rural mayor is the first magistrate (*erste Schöffe*), the general representative of the mayor (*Bürgermeister*) is the first professional official (*erste Beigeordnete*).

(3) In cities which do not belong to a county, the first professional official has the title of mayor (*Bürgermeister*). The professional official who is charged with the administration of municipal finances is called treasurer. The other professional officials are called town councillors (*Stadträte*).

.....

31

(1) The village mayors and magistrates hold honorary positions. The number of magistrates is determined by the regulations.

(2) Insofar as the amount and the kind of administrative business requires, cities with not more than 10,000 inhabitants may have a paid mayor or magistrate, in rural districts with more than 10,000 inhabitants, there may be one paid mayor and two paid magistrates.

32

(1) In cities with not more than 10,000 inhabitants either the mayor or the magistrate is paid. . . .

(2) In cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants the mayor is paid. . . .
The maximum number of officials in cities shall not exceed the following:

Cities with more than 10,000 but less than 50,000 inhabitants. . . . 3

Cities with more than 50,000 but less than 100,000 inhabitants. . . . 4

Cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants 6

34

(1) The mayors, first professional officials and paid treasurers of cities which do not belong to a county are appointed and dismissed by the minister of the interior.

(2) The other professional officials as well as the mayors and other professional officials of the cities which belong to a county are appointed and dismissed by the district president (*Regierungspräsident*). The village mayors and magistrates are appointed and removed by the county executive (*Landrat*).

(3) The appointment of the mayors and village mayors takes place after consultation with the district leader of the national socialist movement.

36

The appointment is for 12 years. Reappointment is permissible. . . .

37

(1) The appointment may be annulled at any time prior to the expiration of the first year.

(3) The appointment of a chief mayor may be revoked by the minister of the interior if he does not from the incumbent's previous service consider him qualified; the minister of the interior must give the chief mayor a hearing before he makes his decision.

40

(1) In order to insure a lasting and close cooperation between the administration of the community and the citizenry, deserving and experienced men may be called to advise the head of the community with regard to governmental problems.

(2) In peasant villages these advisers are called village elders (*Dorfälteste*), in rural districts rural elders (*Gemeindeälteste*), and in cities aldermen (*Ratsherren*).

(3) The municipal advisers shall give experienced and responsible advice to the head of the community in those matters which the law prescribes or in matters where the head of the community desires their opinion. . . .

(4) The number of municipal advisers is determined by regulations. The number of village and rural district elders may not exceed 12, the number of aldermen may not exceed 30.

41

(1) The chief head of the NSDAP. in that area, the ranking leader of the storm troops or of the pretorian guard of the NSDAP. and other experienced and deserving men are to be appointed as municipal advisers.

(2) The appointment is made by the supervisory officials on proposal of the district leader (of the party). . . .

(3) The chief leader of the NSDAP. of that area and the ranking leader of the storm troops or of the pretorian guard of the NSDAP. are named for the period during which they hold party offices; the other municipal advisers are named for a period of six years. Of the latter, one-third retire every two years. Reappointment is permissible. . . .

44

(1) The head of the community shall inform the municipal advisers by communication within a suitable time concerning the daily order of business.

(2) The discussions are not public. The head of the community is empowered to permit officials and appointees of the community to attend discussions at any time. In particular cases, public discussions may also take place; in that event, the place and the time of the discussion, as well as the order of business, are to be made known in the community.

(3) The discussions shall not take place in public houses.

45

Appointed state and provincial councillors who are resident in the community may take part in the discussions. . . .

46

(1) The head of the community opens and leads the discussion; he can close the discussion at any time, without regard to the status of the discussion.

(4) A vote does not occur.

48

(1) The higher supervisory officials, after consultation with the district leader (of the party) and county peasant leader, may determine that in the place of the village elders an assembly (*Dorfversammlung*) of all males possessing citizenship in the community shall convene. . . .

(2) In peasant villages in which a village assembly exists, the procedure for the naming of the mayor is as follows:

Before the selection, the county executive invites the district leader (of the party) and the county peasant leader to take part. He receives suggestions from the village assembly. The appointment of the mayor is then made by the county executive; he is not bound by the suggestions.

.....
PART VI

58

The supervision of the state over the cities which are not part of a county is in the hands of the district president; the supervision of the state over the other communities is in the hands of the county executive.

59

The higher supervisory authority must make certain that the communities are governed legally, in a business-like manner, economically and honestly in conformity with the purposes of the state leadership. It shall so use its supervisory powers that the power of making resolutions and the feeling of responsibility in communal offices is promoted and not impaired.

60

The higher supervisory authority is empowered to inform itself at any time concerning all affairs of the community and its administration. The supervisory authority can conduct investigations, demand written reports and summon the head of the community to be interviewed. The costs will be borne by the community.

61

(1) The higher supervisory authority may participate in the discussions with the community advisers. They may also demand at any time to take part in some definite phase of the agenda.

(2) The representatives of the supervisory authority may take part in the discussion at any time; they do not come under the power of the head of the community to regulate the order of business.

.....
PART VIII

This law has no application to the capital city of Berlin.

XVII

LAW CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF
THE CITY OF BERLIN

(June 29, 1934)

PART I

1

The municipality of Berlin is the capital of the Reich and of Prussia. It also has the status of a province.

2

The chief mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*) is the head of the capital city of Berlin.

3

(1) The capital city of Berlin consists of administrative districts.

(2) The number, boundaries and designations of administrative districts are regulated by legal code. The legal code requires the approval of the minister of interior.

(3) The provisions of the code may also be determined by the minister of the interior.

PART II

.....

4

(1) The district mayors administer the affairs of the administrative districts of the capital city of Berlin.

(2) The district administrative code determines what affairs are to be handled in the individual districts and what affairs are to be handled in common. The district administrative code can determine for the individual administrative districts the sphere of their individual activity.

(3) The district administrative code requires the approval of the minister of the interior.

5

(1) In affairs concerning the district only, the district mayor is in charge of administration in the place of the chief mayor.

.....

6

(1) The chief mayor can issue binding regulations for the execution of the district's own affairs.

(2) At any time he can reserve or acquire specific district functions or groups of functions and individual or all district offices; he can only alter a decision of the district mayor when and insofar as he is empowered to do so.

.....

7

The chief mayor is empowered to secure information at any time concerning all affairs of the district and its administration. He can, therefore, conduct investigations on the spot, examine documents and communications, request written reports and interview district mayors.

8

(1) The chief mayor can transfer to the district mayor those of his functions which come within the sphere of district administrative activities. In these affairs, the district mayor is bound by the orders and instructions of the chief mayor.

.....

9

(1) District professional officials are appointed to represent and assist the district mayor.

.....

11

.....

(2) The chief mayor has the right of making suggestions for appointments of district mayors and for district officials; the higher supervisory officials are not bound by these suggestions; appointments follow after consultation with the district leader of the national socialist movement.

(3) District mayors and district officials are officials of the capital city of Berlin.

.....

13

(1) Upon proposal of the district mayor and after consultation with the district leader of the national socialist movement, the chief mayor creates for every district, district councillors who permanently advise the district mayor or a district official in important fields of work. The chief mayor is not bound by the proposals of the district mayors; but should the chief mayor and the national socialist leader fail to agree, the higher supervisory officials settle the matter.

.....

17

(1) This law comes into force as of July 15, 1934. At the same time, other contrary and incompatible and other provisions which are overruled become ineffective.

.....

XVIII

LAW ADAPTING STATE ADMINISTRATION TO THE
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE
NATIONAL SOCIALIST STATE

(December 15, 1933)

1

The district committees, the county committees, the city committees, the magistracies (*Magistrate*), the collegial city executive committees, and boards of mayors and professional officials (as created in 1883) are set aside as decisive authorities.

XIX

LAW FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REICH

(January 30, 1934)

The plebiscite and the Reichstag election of November 12, 1933 have proved that the German people have been amalgamated beyond all inner political differences and antagonisms into an indissoluble inner unity.

The Reichstag has therefore unanimously enacted the following law

which, with the unanimous consent of the Reichsrat, and after determination that the requirements for laws changing the constitution have been complied with, is hereby promulgated.

ARTICLE 1

The state legislatures are abolished.

ARTICLE 2

- (1) The rights of the states are transferred to the Reich.
- (2) The state cabinets are subordinate to the national cabinet.

ARTICLE 3

The national governors come under the supervision of the national minister of the interior.

ARTICLE 4

The national cabinet is empowered to prepare a new constitution.

ARTICLE 5

The national minister of the interior decrees the necessary legal ordinances and administrative provisions for the execution of the law.

ARTICLE 6

This law becomes effective with the day of publication.

XX

DECREE CONCERNING THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REICH

(February 2, 1934)

On the basis of article 5 of the law of January 30, 1934 concerning the reconstruction of the Reich, the following is decreed:

1

The state officials are permitted in the place of and in the name of the Reich, to exercise the rights which were transferred from the states to the Reich, insofar as the Reich does not make general or specific use of them.

2

Treaties and administrative agreements between the states or between a state and the Reich are not disturbed by the transfer of the rights of the states to the Reich.

3

- (1) State laws require the consent of the competent national ministers.
- (2) Within his jurisdiction the competent national minister can require that legal decrees be laid before him prior to their issuance.

4

The highest state officials in the sphere of their activity must obey the orders of the competent national minister.

5

State officials and national officials may be interchanged.

6

This decree becomes effective on January 30, 1934.

XXI

DECREE OF THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT CONCERNING THE
APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF THE
DIRECT STATE OFFICIALS

(February 3, 1934)

The power of appointment and dismissal of the direct state officials, given to me by Article 2, paragraph 1 of the law of January 30, 1934 for the reconstruction of the Reich, I transfer with immediate effect—

for Prussia:

to the national chancellor and to the state cabinet;

for the remaining states:

to the national governors and to the state cabinets, to correspond with their previous privileges.

XXII

THE FIRST LAW FOR THE TRANSFER OF THE
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
TO THE REICH

(February 16, 1934)

ARTICLE 1

All courts administer law in the name of the German people.

ARTICLE 2

In addition to exercising the right of pardon the national president is empowered to quash pending criminal actions.

Amnesties may only be ordered by means of a national law.

ARTICLE 3

Whoever has attained the capacity of a judge must be admitted to the bar in each state according to the requirements of existing national legal provisions.

ARTICLE 4

Notarial documents have the same validity throughout the Reich.

ARTICLE 5

The national minister of justice is empowered to issue all regulations necessary to bring about the transition of judicial rights to the Reich.

XXIII

DECREE CONCERNING GERMAN CITIZENSHIP

(February 5, 1934)

1

(1) State citizenship ceases to exist.

(2) There is only one German citizenship—national citizenship.

.

3

German citizenship may be granted only after the approval of the minister of the interior. Section 9 of the national and state citizenship law of July 22, 1913 is abolished.

.

XXIV

LAW CONCERNING THE HEAD OF THE GERMAN REICH

(August 1, 1934)

The national cabinet has decided upon the following law which is hereby proclaimed.

1

The office of the national president is united with that of the national chancellor. In consequence, the former powers of the national president pass to the leader and national chancellor, Adolf Hitler. He appoints his deputy.

2

This law becomes effective from the moment of the death of the National President von Hindenburg.

XXV

LAW PROHIBITING THE FORMATION OF NEW
POLITICAL PARTIES

(July 14, 1933)

1

The national socialist German worker's party is the only political party in Germany.

2

Whoever undertakes to maintain the organization of another political party, or to form a new political party, is to be punished with imprisonment in a penitentiary up to 3 years or with confinement in a jail from 6 months to 3 years unless the act is punishable by a higher penalty under other provisions.

XXVI

LAW FOR SAFEGUARDING THE UNITY OF PARTY AND STATE

(December 1, 1933)

1

(1) After the victory of the national socialist revolution the national socialist German worker's party has become the bearer of the German government and is inseparably connected with the state.

(2) It is a corporation of public law. Its constitution is determined by the leader (*der Führer*).

2

To secure the closest cooperation of the offices of the party, and the S. A. with the public officials, the representative of the leader and the chief of staff of the S. A. are to be members of the cabinet.

3

(1) Members of the national socialist German worker's party and of the S. A. (including affiliated organizations) have, as the leading and moving power of the national socialist state, increased duties toward the leader, the people, and the state.

(2) For violation or neglect of these duties the members are subject to special party and S. A. jurisdiction.

(3) The leader may extend these regulations to the members of other organizations.

4

Violation or neglect of duty may mean any action or neglect which may attack or endanger the stability of the organization, or the activity and authority of the national socialist German worker's party, and in case of members of the S. A. (including affiliated organizations) any violation against discipline and order.

5

Besides the customary disciplinary measures, arrest and imprisonment may be inflicted.

6

Public authorities must, within their power, give assistance to party and S. A. officials who are vested with party and S. A. jurisdiction in rendering justice and legal redress.

7

The law governing penal authority over members of the S. A. and the S. S. of April 28, 1933 is declared inoperative.

8

The chancellor, as leader of the national socialist German worker's party and as highest chief of the S. A. issues orders and regulations necessary for the execution and extension of this law, especially regulations concerning the formation and procedure of the party's and S. A. jurisdiction. He determines the date on which the regulations concerning this jurisdiction are to become effective.

XXVII

ALTERATION OF THE LAW FOR SAFEGUARDING THE UNITY OF PARTY AND STATE

(July 3, 1934)

Section 2 of the law of December 1, 1933 for safeguarding the unity of party and state is now to be interpreted as follows:

"To secure the cooperation of the offices of the party with the public officials, the representative of the leader is to be a member of the national cabinet."

XXVIII

LAW ABOLISHING THE REICHSRAT

(February 14, 1934)

The national cabinet has enacted the following law which is hereby promulgated:

1

- (1) The Reichsrat is abolished.
- (2) State representation in the Reich comes to an end.

2

(1) The participation of the Reichsrat in legislation and administration ceases.

(2) Insofar as the Reichsrat alone was competent, it has been replaced by a competent minister or by someone designated by him in consultation with the minister of the interior.

(3) The participation of the members of the Reichsrat in public bodies, courts and governmental organs of all sorts is brought to an end.

3

The competent national ministers are empowered in cooperation with the minister of the interior to make supplementary regulations, and upon the publication of new legal provisions to consider the changes caused by this law.

XXIX

LAW ABOLISHING THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

(March 23, 1934)

The provisional national economic council is abolished as of March 31, 1934.

At the same time the decree of May 4, 1920 concerning the provisional national economic council as well as the law of April 5, 1933 concerning the national economic council become inoperative.

XXX

DECREE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINISTRY FOR PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND PROPAGANDA

(March 13, 1933)

For purposes of enlightenment and propaganda among the people concerning the policy of the national cabinet and the national reconstruction of the German fatherland, a ministry for public enlightenment and propaganda is established.

The chief of this office bears the title "minister for public enlightenment and propaganda."

The individual duties of the ministry for public enlightenment and propaganda are determined by the national chancellor. He likewise determines—in consultation with the ministries affected—the duties which are to be transferred from their respective spheres of competence to the new ministry, and, also, when the spheres of competence of the affected ministries are touched in their essentials.

XXXI

DECREE CONCERNING THE DUTIES OF THE MINISTRY FOR PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND PROPAGANDA

(June 30, 1933)

Based on the decree of the national president of March 13, 1933, I decree, in agreement with the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the minister of commerce, the minister for food and agriculture, the minister of posts, the minister of communications, and the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda the following:

The minister for public enlightenment and propaganda is competent to deal with all measures of mental influence (*geistigen Einwirkung*) upon the nation, the publicity for state, culture and business, the instruction of the public within and outside the nation concerning the above, and the administration of all establishments (devices) which serve all these purposes.

Consequently the following are to be transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda:

1. From the jurisdiction of the foreign office: Intelligence reports and publicity in foreign countries, art, art exhibits, film and sport affairs in foreign countries.

2. From the jurisdiction of the ministry of the interior:

Explanation of general domestic politics,

University for Politics,

Establishment and celebration of national holidays and state celebrations with the participation of the ministry of the interior,

The Press (with the Institute for Journalism),

Radio,

National anthem,

German Library in Leipzig,

Art (but not including the art-historical institute in Florence, copyright for works of literature and art index of the valuable national works of art, German-Austrian treaty concerning export of art,

protection of art objects and monuments, protection and care of landscape and nature monuments, game and forest preserves, preservation of buildings of especial historical significance, preservation of national monuments, Association of German societies for folklore, national honor-monument),

Music cultivation (including philharmonic orchestras),

Theatrical affairs,

Combating of trash and obscenity.

3. From the jurisdictions of the ministry of commerce and the ministry for food and agriculture:

Business publicity and advertising matters for expositions and fairs.

4. From the jurisdictions of the ministry of posts and the ministry of communications:

Travel publicity.

All radio matters which in the past were dealt with by the ministry of posts, are transferred from its jurisdiction insofar as they do not pertain to technical administration, except in the National Radio Corporation and the Radio Corporation buildings. In matters of technical administration the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda is to participate insofar as is necessary for the execution of his own duties, especially in the determination of conditions for loans to radio-plants and the regulations of their dues. In particular, the representation of the Reich in the National Radio Corporation and in the Radio Corporations is transferred completely to the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda.

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In the designated fields the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda is in charge of all matters, including legislation. For participation by the remaining national ministers, the general regulations apply.

XXXII

LAW CONCERNING THE NATIONAL CULTURE CHAMBER

(September 22, 1933)

1

The national minister for public enlightenment and propaganda is authorized and empowered to consolidate into corporations of public law the divisions of activity which are included within the sphere of his duties.

2

Erected in accordance with section 1 are:

1. a national writer's chamber
2. a national press chamber
3. a national radio chamber
4. a national theatre chamber
5. a national music chamber
6. a national chamber of painting and sculpture

4

The establishment of the chambers is to be limited within the policies to be decided upon by the national government for the professional-corporation structure.

5

The corporations named in section 2 are united together with the provisional film chamber, which now receives the name national film chamber, into a national chamber of culture. The national chamber of culture falls under the supervision of the national minister of public enlightenment and propaganda. Its seat is Berlin.

6

The national minister for public enlightenment and propaganda and the national minister of economics are empowered to coordinate through a common decree, regulations under the trade decree with the regulations of this law.

XXXIII

PRESS LAW

(October 4, 1933)

PART I

NEWSPAPER PROFESSION

1

Contributing by word, news report or picture to the intellectual content of newspapers or political periodicals, published within German territory, is a public vocation which, concerning its professional duties and rights, is regulated by this law. The contributors are called editors. Nobody may call himself editor who is not, according to this law, entitled to do so.

2

(1) Newspapers and periodicals are printed publications which appear regularly at intervals of not longer than three months, their circulation not being confined to a definite group of subscribers.

(2) Printed publications are: all multiplications of writings or pictorial representations which have been produced by multigraphic reproduction for publication.

3

(1) Everything pertaining to newspapers in this law is also valid for political periodicals.

(2) The law does not apply to newspapers and periodicals issued by the government.

(3) The minister for public enlightenment and propaganda decides which periodicals are regarded as political within the meaning of this law. If the periodical concerns a special field, he will reach a decision in agreement with the respective state or national authorities.

4

A concern which furnishes newspapers with news items (by word, news or picture) will be considered contributing to the intellectual content of a German newspaper even if this is not done in the establishment of the publisher.

PART II

ADMISSION TO THE VOCATION OF EDITOR

5

No one may be an editor except one who:

1. is a German citizen,
2. has not lost his civic rights and the qualifications to hold public office,
3. is of arian descent and not married to a person of non-arian descent,
4. has reached the age of 21,
5. is competent,
6. has had professional training,
7. has the qualifications required for the influencing of public opinion intellectually.

8

Admission to the vocation of editor is obtained by petition for inclusion in the membership records of the profession. The records are kept by the state organizations of the German press. The leader of the state association decides about registration. He proceeds with the registration if all requirements under section 5 have been met. He must deny registration if the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda objects.

9

If petitioned by the leader of the state association, the leader of the national association of the German press may, with the consent of the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, allow certain exceptions to the requirements as named in section 5, numbers 1, 3, 6. The exceptions may

be restricted to specific fields of editorial activity. In this case permission will be given by the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda in agreement with the competent state or national authorities. . . .

10

The decision by which the leader of the state association denies registration for vocational membership is to be returned in written form, together with the reasons for refusal, to the petitioner. The petitioner may, within four weeks after being notified of the decision, appeal to the court for the settlement of vocational disputes. The appeal is invalid if section 8, sentence 5, applies to it.

PART III

EXECUTION OF THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION

14

Editors are under obligation to withhold from publication everything which:

1. confuses selfish with common interest in a manner misleading to the public,
2. is able to weaken: the strength of the German nation nationally or internationally, the will toward unity of the German nation, German defensive ability, German culture or German business, or that will hurt the religious feelings of others,
3. is offensive to the honor and dignity of a German,
4. illegally injures the honor or the well-being of another person, hurts his reputation or makes him ridiculous or despicable,
5. is for other reasons indecent.

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PART IV

LEGAL PROTECTION OF EDITORS

23

Editors are united legally in the national association of the German press. By registration in the vocational records, every editor becomes a member of this organization by this law. The national association becomes a body of public law. It is located in Berlin.

24

(1) The minister for public enlightenment and propaganda appoints the director of the national association, who draws up the rules for the association and submits the same to the approval of the minister. The director appoints legal advisors.

(2) The national association is divided into state associations. Further details regarding organization are fixed in the rules. Editors living in foreign countries must belong to an association of the district in which is located a newspaper, or enterprise for which they are active, of the kind designated in section 4.

25

- (1) It is the duty of the national association:
1. to provide for training, development and welfare organizations for editors,
 2. to give professional advice to state and national officials,
 3. to assist in the formation of rules governing the employment of editors,
 4. to be a mediator in disputes between editors, and to effect settlements with the consent of both parties,
 5. to maintain vocational courts for the press.

.

(3) The national association is authorized to assess membership dues. The regulations concerning dues must get the approval of the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda. The dues will be collected like public taxes.

26

The discharging of the obligations of the national association will be supervised by the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda.

27

(1) For the protection of the vocation of editor vocational courts for the press will be set up.

(2) Vocational courts of first instance are the district press courts. The vocational court of second instance is the supreme court of the press in Berlin.

.

32

Vocational courts are composed of a chairman and assistants. For the chairman and for the assistants, substitutes are to be appointed. The chairman and his substitutes must have the qualifications for legal office or for higher administrative service. They possess judicial independence. The assistants and their substitutes are to be publishers and editors, both having numerically equal representation. All members of the vocational courts will be appointed by the minister for public enlightenment and propaganda. Editors are recommended for appointment by the director of the national association. Publishers are recommended by the publisher's organization in the national press board.

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PART V

PENAL PROTECTION OF THE EDITORIAL PROFESSION

36

Any person engaging in editorial activities unless he is registered in the records of the profession, or while he is temporarily prohibited from engaging in such activities will be punished with imprisonment up to one year or with a fine.

37

Any publisher who employs a person not registered in the records of the profession or who commissions an editor who is temporarily prohibited from engaging in editorial activities, or who maintains a newspaper without having appointed a chief editor, will be punished with imprisonment up to three months or with a fine.

38

Any editor who demands, accepts, or obligates himself to accept any monetary or other consideration for any activity in violation of sections 13 or 14 will be punished with imprisonment or with a fine.

39

Whoever attempts by offer, promise or the granting of favors, to induce a publisher, an editor or their representatives to undertake, carry out or permit any activity which, according to sections 13 and 14 can be designated as an offense against the intellectual contents of newspapers, will be penalized with imprisonment or fine for bribery of the press.

40

(1) Whoever attempts to induce by coercion an editor, publisher or their representatives to undertake, carry out, or permit any activity which, according to sections 13 and 14, will be an offense against the intellectual contents of newspapers, will be penalized with imprisonment or fine for coercion of the press.

(2) If an employee because of his dependent position is coerced by his editor, the penalty is imprisonment of not less than three months.

41

Cases falling within the terms of sections 38 to 40 may be punished by the loss of civic rights in addition to imprisonment.

42

Any person who assumes the title of editor, although he is not registered in the records of the profession, is liable to arrest or to a fine up to 150 marks.

43

Any publisher who has incurred legal penalty for violation of section 37, 39 or 40, may be prohibited by the competent administrative authorities from engaging in industrial activities.

PART VI

CONCLUDING PROVISIONS

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46

The minister for public enlightenment and propaganda may, in agreement with the other ministers concerned, issue orders for the enforcement of this law and for the transition from the present state of law into the new one.

XXXIV

DECREE CREATING THE NATIONAL MINISTRY OF SCIENCE,
EDUCATION AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

(May 1, 1934)

(1) A national ministry of science, education and public instruction is created to deal with all educational and scientific matters.

(2) The head of this ministry has the title of "National Minister for Science, Education and Public Instruction."

(3) The national chancellor determines the various functions of the national ministry of science, education and public instruction. He also determines the functions which are to be transferred from the jurisdiction of existing ministries to the new ministry and even when the jurisdiction of the existing ministries is thereby fundamentally affected.

XXXV

DECREE CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL
MINISTRY OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

(May 11, 1934)

On the basis of the decree of May 1, 1934, of the national president it is ordered that the following matters be transferred from the jurisdiction of the ministry of the interior to the national ministry of science, education and public instruction:

1. Science:

All scientific matters, including relationships with foreign countries,
Technical-Physical Institute,
Technical-Chemical Institute,
National Institute for the study of Earthquakes,
Nationally important scientific institutions both within and without
the country,
Scientific publications,
Folklore,
Archaeological Institute.

2. Education and Instruction:

High school matters,
Student aid, National leader of German high school and technical
school students,
General school matters,
Public schools,
Higher schools,
Private schools,

Professional and technical schools,
German school matters in foreign countries,
Schools in foreign countries.

3. Youth Societies.
4. Adult Education.

In all the designated fields the national minister of science, education and public instruction is charged with all functions including those pertaining to legislation. For the participation of other national ministers, the general principles apply.

XXXVI

LAW FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL
CIVIL SERVICE

(April 7, 1933)

1

(1) For the restoration of a national civil service and for the simplification of the administration, officials may be discharged according to the following regulations, even when the suppositions required by existing law are not present.

(2) Officials within the scope of this law are direct and indirect officials of the Reich, direct and indirect officials of the states, and officials of the communes (*Gemeinde*) and counties (*Gemeindeverbände*), officials of public law corporations, as well as establishments and businesses of equal status. . . . The regulations are also to be applied to social insurance employees who have the rights and duties of the officials.

(3) Officials within the scope of this law also include those who are temporarily pensioned.

(4) The Reichsbank and the German State Railways are empowered to decree similar regulations.

2

(1) Officials who have entered the service since November 9, 1918 without possessing prescribed or customary training or other qualifications for their career are to be discharged from the service. For three months after dismissal, they will be paid their former salary.

(2) They have no claim to partial compensation (*Wartegeld*), pension, or pensions for heirs, or for the continued use of the office-designation, the title, the uniform, or the service insignia.

(3) In case of distress, especially when officials are providing for needy relatives, an annuity which can be withdrawn at any time, amounting up to one-third of the existing basic salary of the position last filled by them, can be granted to them; re-insurance under the provisions of the national insurance law is not possible.

(4) The regulations of paragraphs 2 and 3 are to find corresponding application to persons designated in paragraph 1, who have been pensioned before this law became effective.

3

(1) Officials who are not of arian descent, are to be retired (See section 8); where honorary officials are concerned they are to be discharged from office.

(2) Paragraph 1 does not apply to officials who have been in service since August 1, 1914, or who fought in the World War at the front for the German Reich or for its allies or whose fathers or sons were killed in the World War. The minister of the interior after consultation with the competent minister or with the highest state authorities may permit further exceptions in the case of officials who are in foreign countries.

4

Officials who because of their previous political activity do not offer security that they will exert themselves for the national state without reservations, may be discharged. For three months after dismissal, they will be paid their former salary. From this time on they receive three-quarters of their pensions (see paragraph 8) and corresponding annuities for their heirs.

5

(1) Every official must submit to a transfer to an office of the same or of an equally-valued career, also to one of lesser rank and scheduled salary—with a refund of the necessary moving expenses—if the needs of the service demand it. When the official is transferred to a position of lesser rank and scheduled salary, the official retains his original title and the salary of the office he formerly held.

(2) The official may demand, within a month, that in place of a transfer to an office of lesser rank and scheduled income that he be pensioned.

6

For the simplification of administration, officials may be pensioned, even when they are capable of service. When officials are retired for this reason, their positions may not be filled again.

7

(1) Discharges from office, transfers to other offices, and pension cases are decided finally by the highest national or state authorities without legal recourse.

(2) Changes in the service according to paragraphs 2 to 6 must be submitted by September 30, 1933 at the latest. The time-limit may be shortened after consultation with the minister of the interior, if the highest competent national or state authorities declare that the provisions of this law have already been carried out.

8

The officials retired or discharged according to paragraphs 3 and 4 will not receive a pension, if they have not completed at least ten years service;

this also applies in those cases, in which according to prevailing regulations of national and state law, a pension is already granted for a shorter period of service.

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XXXVII

FIRST DECREE FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE LAW FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

(April 11, 1933)

Addition to section 3, law of April 7, 1933

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2

(1) A non-arian is one who is descended from non-arian, particularly Jewish parents or grandparents. It suffices if either parent or either grandparent is non-arian. This is especially to be accepted if either parent or either grandparent has professed the Jewish religion.

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XXXVIII

THIRD DECREE FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE LAW FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

(May 6, 1933)

Addition to section 1, law of April 7, 1933.

Officers within the scope of this law also include judges and teachers in the public school system, teachers at scientific universities, and also the full and assistant professors who have been relieved of their official duties. In addition, honorary professors, non-official assistant professors and *privatdozenten* at universities are to be considered officers within the scope of this law. Likewise the former court (royal) officials and the notaries, even when they only draw fees, have the status of public officers. Officials of the old and new military forces and the members of the protective police of the states are public officers, but military officers, health officers, veterinary officers, subaltern officers and enlisted men of the old and new military forces do not have the status of officer.

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Addition to section 2, law of April 7, 1933.

Those who have participated in communistic activities are to be discharged even if they no longer belong to the communist party, or its auxiliary or collateral organisations. The so-called national communistic movement (Black Front) is also considered to be communistic.

Addition to section 3, law of April 7, 1933.

(1) In the meaning of this law, front-fighter is one who, during the World War (from August 1, 1914 to December 31, 1918) participated with the fighting troops in a battle, a skirmish, trench warfare, or in a siege. It is not sufficient if one has served in the war-zone during the war, without having confronted the enemy.

(2) In particular, a front-fighter is one to whom the medal for being wounded has been given.

(3) Participation in the fighting in the Baltic states, in Upper Silesia, against Spartacists, and Separatists as well as against the enemies of the national revolution is to be ranked equal with participation in the fighting of the World War.

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Addition to section 4, law of April 7, 1933.

1

The membership of an official in a political party—the communist party excepted—does not in itself justify the assumption of national unreliability. This is also true if the official has been an inscribed member of the party, has paid dues to it, and has attended its meetings.

2

The suppositions for section 4, sentence 1 are especially fulfilled, if an official has opposed the national movement by speech, writing or by other hateful conduct, has insulted its leaders or has misused his official position to persecute, demote, or otherwise harm officials who hold national opinions. If this is the case, then his entrance since January 30, 1933, into a party or into a society which supports the government of national revolution will not excuse him. No significance shall be attached to occasional indiscretions during the election campaign.

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5

The league of republican officials and the Iron Front are also to be considered as political parties in the meaning of the first ordinance for the execution of the law for the restoration of the professional civil service of April 11th, 1933.

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Addition to section 7, law of April 7, 1933.

4

When national governors (*Reichsstatthalter*) are appointed, they may, upon proposal of the state government, bring about discharges, transfers to other offices, and retirements.

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7

Teachers at universities are not to be made emeriti but are to be pensioned according to this law.

If on account of this law official professors and assistant professors and *Privatdozenten* of universities are discharged or retired they lose the right to teach. In the case of honorary professors, of unofficial (assistant) professors and *Privatdozenten* at universities, discharge or retirement results in the loss of the right to teach.

XXXIX

LAW CHANGING THE REGULATIONS IN REGARD TO
PUBLIC OFFICERS

(June 30, 1933)

Chapter 2

1a

(1) Only such persons may be appointed national officials who possess for their career the prescribed education or customary training or who have special qualifications for the office about to be given, and who guarantee that they will support the national state at all times without reservation.

(2) Women may only be appointed national officials for life when they have completed the 35th year.

(3) Anyone of non-arian descent, or married to a person of non-arian descent, may not be appointed a national official. National officials of arian descent who marry a person of non-arian descent are to be discharged. The question of who is of non-arian descent, is to be decided by regulations decreed by the minister of the interior.

(4) If urgent requirements of the national administration so necessitate, the highest national officials may make exceptions in individual cases—exceptions from the provisions of paragraph 2 with the approval of the minister of finance, exceptions from the provisions of paragraph 3 with the approval of the minister of the interior.

.

6

(1) The (above) regulations are also to be applied to the civil service regulations of the states, local communities, and of the other bodies, institutions, and foundations of public law. . . .

(2) The German State Railways, the Reichsbank, the public-legal religious societies, and the confederations are empowered to decree similar regulations.

Chapter 3

7

(2) When the economic status of a female official appears to be permanently secured because of a family income, the officials . . . may decree a dismissal. The conditions for dismissal are always present when the husband is a permanent official not subject to dismissal.

Chapter 8

40

(1) The states and the bodies of public law not supervised by the states are empowered and compelled to lower the incomes of their officials insofar as they are higher than the incomes of national officials of equal rank. The national ministers and the national chancellor are to be considered as national officials within the scope of this chapter. Sentence 1 is not applicable to university teachers; for them the special rules of section 44 apply. Similarly, the national government or the state governments may make different rules in other cases in which the scholarly or artistic significance of an office requires a special evaluation.

(2) The local communities, and the other bodies of public law which are under the supervision of the state officials are empowered and obligated to reduce the salaries of their officials, insofar as they are higher than the salaries of state officials of corresponding rank.

.

44

(1) The state governments are empowered to alter or annul the assurances given to university professors before this chapter became effective. They are not bound hereby to agreements, compromises, legal judgments or arbitration decisions.

.

Chapter 13

77

(1) Insofar as the execution of the provisions of this law requires it, deviations from the national constitution and from the state constitutions are permissible.

XL

SUPPLEMENTARY LAW TO THE LAW FOR THE RESTORATION
OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

(July 20, 1933)

2a

(1) Officials who have belonged to the communist party or to communist auxiliary or collateral organizations or otherwise have been active in furthering the aims of communism, are to be discharged. Discharge is not necessary for (a) officials, who before January 30th, 1933 joined a party or an organization which has placed itself behind the government of the national revolution, and (b) officials who have distinguished themselves exceptionally in the national movement.

(2) Officials who in the future are active for Marxism (communism or social-democracy) are to be discharged.

XLI

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LAW OF PUBLIC OFFICERS
OF JUNE 30, 1933

(August 8, 1933)

.

(2) Likewise illegitimate descent is considered descent in the meaning of section 1a, paragraph 3 of the law of public officers. Through adoption of a child, a parent-and-child relationship in the meaning of this ordinance is not created.

2

(1) One who is to be appointed a national official has to prove that he and his wife are of arian descent. Every national official, who wishes to marry, has to prove, that the person whom he desires to marry, is of arian descent.

(2) The proof is to be made by the submission of documents (birth certificate, marriage certificate of the parents).

(3) If arian descent is doubtful, an opinion is to be obtained from the expert for racial investigation accredited to the minister of the interior.

3

The regulations apply correspondingly to the law of public officers of the states, local communities, and the other bodies, institutions, and foundations of public law.

XLII

LAW CONCERNING REFERENDA

(July 14, 1933)

1

(1) The national cabinet by means of a referendum may question the people as to whether or not it approves of a measure planned by the national cabinet.

(2) There may also be a referendum on laws as well as on the measures referred to in paragraph one.

2

A referendum is decided by a majority of the valid votes cast. This also applies to a vote on a law containing provisions which would amend the constitution.

3

(This section relates to the promulgation of a referred law.)

4

The minister of the interior is authorized to issue decrees and general administrative orders for the execution of this law.

XLIII

DECREE FOR CARRYING OUT THE REFERENDUM ON THE
APPEAL OF THE NATIONAL CABINET TO THE
GERMAN PEOPLE

(October 14 and 20, 1933)

On the basis of section 4 of the law of July 14, 1933, concerning referenda, the following is decreed for the execution of the referendum on the appeal of the national cabinet to the German people of October 14, 1933:

.

2

The voting is to occur simultaneously with the Reichstag election on November 12, 1933.

3

The ballot, which consists of green paper, contains the following text: Appeal of the national cabinet to the German People.

The German national cabinet and the German people are united in the will to conduct a policy of peace, of reconciliation, and of understanding, as the foundation of all decisions and of all action.

The national cabinet and the German people, therefore, disavow violence as an unsuitable means for settling existing differences within the European community of states.

The German national cabinet and the German people renew the avowal, to accede gladly to every actual disarming of the world, with the assurance of the willingness, also, to destroy the last German machine-gun and to discharge the last German soldier from the army, provided the other nations decide to do likewise.

The German national cabinet and the German people unite in the sincere desire, to want to examine and solve without passion and by means of negotiations, all existing questions with other nations, including all of our former opponents, in a spirit of over-coming the war-psychosis and to restore finally a sincere relationship toward each other.

The German national cabinet and the German people therefore declare themselves willing at any time to assure the peace of Europe for all time and to serve its economic welfare through the concluding of continental pacts of non-aggression, and to participate in the general cultural reconstruction.

The national cabinet and the German people are motivated by the same conception of honor, which demands that the acceptance of equal treatment for Germany is the absolutely necessary moral and objective condition for every participation of our people and its government in international institutions and treaties.

The German national cabinet and the German people are therefore united in the decision, to leave the disarmament conference and to quit the League of Nations, until this actual equality of rights is no longer held back from our nation.

The national cabinet and the German people have decided, rather, to undergo every difficulty, every persecution, and every distress, than in the future to subscribe to treaties which for every man of honor and for every honor loving nation must be unacceptable; and in their consequences would only lead to make eternal the unhappiness and the misery caused by the Versailles treaty and, thereby, the collapse of the civilized community of nations.

The German national cabinet and the German people do not have the will to participate in any armament race with other nations, they only demand that measure of security which guarantees to the nation the rest and freedom of peaceful work. The German national cabinet and the German people are determined to make certain by means of negotiations and by treaties these justifiable demands of the German nation.

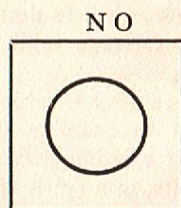
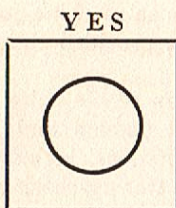
The national cabinet puts the question to the German people:

Does the German people agree to the policy of its national cabinet set forth here and is it willing to declare the same to be the expression of its own opinion and its own will and to espouse it solemnly?

Berlin, October 14, 1933

The National Cabinet

Do you, German man, and you, German woman, agree to this policy of your national cabinet, and are you willing, to declare it to be the expression of your own opinion and your own will and to espouse it solemnly?



4

The voting is to be carried out in such a manner, that the voter who wishes to answer the question put to a vote in the affirmative, shall place a cross in the circle below the printed word "Yes," the person who wishes to oppose it, shall insert a cross under the printed word "No."

5

The ballot is to be deposited in the same envelope, in which the ballot for the Reichstag election is deposited.

6

The regulations of the national election law are correspondingly valid in the requirement for compulsory service on election boards.

XLIV

FACSIMILE OF THE BALLOT USED IN THE ELECTION OF AUGUST 19, 1934

I

PROCLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL CHANCELLOR FOR EXECUTION OF THE LAW CONCERNING THE HEAD OF THE GERMAN REICH

(August 2, 1934)

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR!

The legal measures taken in connection with the question of the head of the state as a result of the national calamity which has befallen our people, leads me to decree the following:

1. The greatness of the departed one has given the title of National President a peculiar importance. It is in our thoughts, and what it means to us, inseparably bound with the name of the one who has died. I beg, therefore, that care shall be taken that I, in both official and unofficial communications, shall be addressed as formerly—only as leader and national chancellor. This provision shall have continuing validity.

2. I desire that the constitutional action of the national cabinet entrusting my person and also the office of national chancellor with the functions of the former national president, shall receive the express approval of the German people. Being of the firm conviction that every grant of power by the people must be determined by them in free and secret election, I request that you submit without delay the decision of the cabinet together with the necessary additions to the German people in a free referendum.

Berlin, August 2, 1934

The National Chancellor
Adolf Hitler.

II

DECISION OF THE NATIONAL CABINET FOR A POPULAR REFERENDUM

(August 2, 1934)

In accordance with the wish of the leader and chancellor, the national cabinet has determined to hold on Sunday, August 19, 1934, a popular referendum on the national law of August 1, 1934

"The office of the national president is united with that of the national chancellor. In consequence, the former powers of the national president pass to the leader and national chancellor, Adolf Hitler. He appoints his deputy."

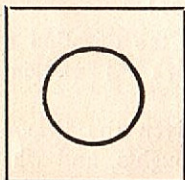
and has charged the minister of the interior with the execution of this decision.

Berlin, August 2, 1934

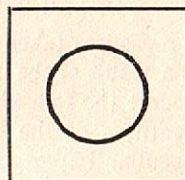
The National Cabinet

Do you, German man, and you, German woman, approve of the arrangement made in this law?

Ja



Nein



XLV

DECREE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE

(February 28, 1933)

On the basis of article 48, paragraph 2 of the national constitution, the following is decreed to prevent communistic acts of violence which endanger the state:

1

Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124 and 153 of the constitution of the German Reich are to be suspended until further notice. Consequently restrictions of personal liberty, of the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, of association, and of assembly, interference with letters, mail, telegraph, and telephone secrets, orders to search houses and to confiscate as well as restrict property beyond existing legal limits are permissible.

2

If in a state the measures necessary for the restoration of public security and order are not taken, the national government may temporarily take over the powers of the highest state authority.

.....

4

Whoever provokes, or appeals for or incites to the disobedience of the orders given out by the supreme state authorities or the authorities subject to them for the execution of this decree, or the orders given by the national government according to section 2, is punishable—insofar as the deed is not

covered by other decrees with more severe punishments—with imprisonment of not less than one month, or with a fine from 150 up to 15,000 Reichsmarks.

Whoever endangers human life by violating paragraph 1, is to be punished by sentence to a penitentiary, under mitigating circumstances with imprisonment of not less than six months and, when violation causes the death of a person, with death, under mitigating circumstances with a penitentiary sentence of not less than two years. In addition the sentence may include confiscation of property.

Whoever provokes or incites to an act contrary to public welfare is to be punished with a penitentiary sentence, under mitigating circumstances, with imprisonment of not less than three months.

5

The crimes which under the Criminal Code are punishable with penitentiary for life are to be punished with death: i.e., in section 81 (high treason), 229 (poisoning), 306 (arson), 311 (explosion), 312 (floods), 315, paragraph 2 (damage to railroad properties), 324 (general poisoning).

Insofar as a more severe punishment has not been previously provided for, the following are punishable with death or with life imprisonment or with imprisonment not to exceed 15 years:

1. Anyone who undertakes to kill the national president or a member or a commissioner of the national government or of a state government, or provokes to such a killing, or agrees to commit it, or accepts such an offer, or conspires with another for such a murder;
2. Anyone who under section 115, paragraph 2, of the criminal code (serious rioting) or of section 125, paragraph 2, of the criminal code (serious disturbance of the peace) commits the act with arms or cooperates consciously and intentionally with an armed person;
3. Anyone who commits a kidnapping under section 239 of the criminal code with the intention of making use of the kidnapped person as a hostage in the political struggle.

XLVI

DECREE PROTECTING THE NATIONAL CABINET AGAINST MALICIOUS ATTACKS

(March 21, 1933)

1

(1) Whoever possesses the uniform of an organization supporting the government of national regeneration, without being entitled thereto through membership in the organization or otherwise, will be punished with imprisonment up to two years.

(2) Whoever wears the uniform or insignia which designates membership in an organization of the nature described in paragraph 1, without being a member of the organization, is to be punished with imprisonment of at least one month.

2

(1) Whoever commits a punishable act against persons or objects or threatens the same and while so doing wears or carries with him the uniform or insignia designating membership in an organization of the kind listed in section 1, paragraph 1 without being a member of the organization, is to be punished with a penitentiary sentence; in case of mitigating circumstances, with imprisonment of not less than 6 months.

(2) If the deed was committed with the intention of inciting to riot or of creating fear or panic among the population, or of causing difficulties for the German Reich in its foreign affairs, the punishment is a penitentiary sentence of from 3 years to life. In especially severe cases the death penalty may be exacted.

(3) According to these regulations a German can also be prosecuted if he has committed the deed on foreign soil.

3

(1) Whoever purposely makes or circulates a statement of a factual nature which is untrue or grossly exaggerated or which is apt seriously to harm the welfare of the Reich or of a state or the reputation of the national government or of a state government or of the parties or organizations supporting these governments, is to be punished, insofar as no more severe punishment is decreed in other regulations, with imprisonment up to two years and, if he makes or spreads the statement publicly, with imprisonment of not less than three months.

(2) If the act has worked a serious harm for the Reich or a state, penitentiary punishment can be exacted.

(3) Whoever commits an act through negligence, is to be punished with imprisonment up to 3 months or by a fine.

4

Whoever has acquired membership in an organization surreptitiously is counted as a non-member in the application of this ordinance.

5

This ordinance becomes effective on the day following its publication.

XLVII

LAW FOR THE GUARANTEEING OF PUBLIC PEACE

(October 13, 1933)

1

(1) The following will be punished with death or, insofar as a more severe penalty is not provided, with life imprisonment or with imprisonment up to 15 years:

1. Anyone who undertakes to kill, or who incites to such a killing, or who offers to commit the same, or who accepts such an offer or conspires for such a killing with another person for political reasons or on account of their

official or public function, a judge, or a state's attorney or an official in charge of the duties of the political-, criminal-, railroad-, forestry-, customs-, protective-, or security-police or a member of the army and navy or of the storm-detachments (including the *Stahlhelm*) or the pretorian guard of the national socialist German workers' party or a member of the German aerosport league;

2. Anyone who undertakes to kill, or incites to such a killing, or offers to commit the same, or accepts such an offer or conspires for such a killing with another person, a magistrate or juror on account of his activity as magistrate or juror, or a witness or expert on account of a statement made by him in fulfillment of his duty as witness or expert;

3. Anyone who in a foreign country produces, circulates, or holds in readiness for the purpose of circulation printed matter which may form the basis for an act of high treason (No 81-86 of the criminal code) or who otherwise commits a crime of high treason;

4. Anyone who undertakes to introduce into Germany printed matter mentioned in No. 3, having knowledge of its high-treasonable content, for the purpose of its circulation, or anyone who circulates such printed matter after it has been imported into the country or who otherwise assists in the commission within the country of an act of high treason originating in a foreign country.

2

Anyone who undertakes to introduce printed matter into the country, with the intention of circulating the same for purposes of endangering the state shall be punished with imprisonment up to five years . . . To wit, the following:

1. an offense against the law of July 14th, 1933 forbidding the formation of new parties, or

2. an exhortation or incitement punishable according to sections 110-112 of the criminal code, or

3. a false report which is punishable under section 3 of the decree of the national president for the suppression of secret attacks against the government of national regeneration.

3

The emergency courts constituted under the decree of March 21, 1933, of the national government are competent to handle the crimes designated in supreme state courts does not exist.

XLVIII

LAW FOR THE CONFISCATION OF COMMUNISTIC PROPERTY

(May 26, 1933)

In order permanently to deprive communist endeavors of a traitorous nature of useful property, the national cabinet has enacted the following law which is herewith promulgated:

1

(1) The highest state officials or the authorities designated by them,

may confiscate for the benefit of the state, property and rights of the communist party of Germany and its auxiliary and subsidiary organizations as well as property which is used or intended to be used for furthering communist activities.

(2) The minister of the interior may implore the highest state officials to take the measures required in paragraph 1.

2

Section 1 does not apply to rented property or to property held under mortgage unless the renter or the purveyor had the intention of using the property for a furtherance of communistic endeavors.

.....

8

The minister of the interior is authorized to issue legal and administrative regulations for the execution and completion of this law.

XLIX

LAW PROVIDING FOR THE CONFISCATION OF THE PROPERTY OF PUBLIC ENEMIES

(July 14, 1933)

The provisions of the law of May 26th, 1933 concerning the confiscation of communist property are to be applied to the property and rights of the German social democratic party and its auxiliary and collateral organizations as well as to property and rights which are used or are intended to further Marxist or other movements which, according to determination by the minister of the interior, are hostile to the people and the state.

L

LAW CONCERNING THE PRUSSIAN SECRET POLICE

(November 30, 1933)

1

(1) The secret state police constitutes an independent branch of the inner administration. The minister president is its head. The minister president empowers the inspector of the secret state police with the administration of the current business.

(2) In case of the inability of the minister president to act as head of the secret police, the secretary of state in the ministry of state will take his place.

(3) The inspector of the secret state police is at the same time the head of the office of the secret state police.

2

To the sphere of activities of the secret state police belongs all business of the political police which was taken care of by the officials of the general and the inner administration. The particular functions to be taken over by the secret state police are left to the decision of the minister president as head of the secret state police.

3

(1) The work of the political police, hitherto supervised by the office of the minister of the interior will, with the passing of this law, be transferred to the office of the secret state police.

(2) The state, county and village police authorities must execute the orders of the secret state police office which fall within the sphere of the secret state police.

4

To enforce this law, the minister of finance is entitled to make changes in the national budget.

5

The provisions of the law of April 26, 1933 are void insofar as they conflict with this law.

6

This law goes into effect on the day of its publication.

LI

LAW FOR THE CREATION OF A SECRET STATE POLICE OFFICE

(April 26, 1933)

The ministry of state has enacted the following law:

1

(1) For the purpose of taking over the duties of the political police, the secret state police office, with its seat in Berlin, is established. It has the position of a state police authority and comes directly under the supervision of the minister of the interior.

(2) The practical and local competence of the secret state police is regulated by the minister of the interior.

(3) The rules of the police administrative law of June 1, 1931, regarding review of orders of the state police are applicable with the provision that in administrative disputes concerning the orders of the secret state police, the district committee in Berlin has sole jurisdiction.

2

The secret state police may, within the sphere of its authority, ask for police officials for police purposes.

3

The minister of the interior will issue the regulations necessary for the enforcement of this law, and insofar as they concern the numbers and kinds of officers and employees to be designated to the secret state police, he will act in agreement with the minister of finance.

LII

LAW CHANGING THE PROVISIONS OF THE CRIMINAL LAW
AND OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

(April 24, 1934)

ARTICLE 1

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80

Whoever undertakes by force or by threat of force to annex to a foreign state territory of the Reich in whole or in part, or to separate any part of the Reich territory from the Reich, is punished with death.

A similar punishment will be meted out to anyone who undertakes by force or by threat of force to change the constitution of the Reich.

81

Whoever undertakes to deprive the national president or the national chancellor or any other member of the national cabinet of his constitutional power, or to compel or to hinder by force or by threat of force or by a crime or by assault the exercise of his constitutional authority entirely or in any particular manner, is punished with death or with life imprisonment or with imprisonment of not less than five years.

.

ARTICLE 3

1

(1) For the adjudication of cases of high treason or of treason against the country a lay court (*Volksgerichtshof*) is set up.

(2) In the principal proceedings the lay court reaches decisions with five members, in other cases with three members, the chairman being included in both cases. The chairman and one other member must have the qualifications of a judge. Several sections may be formed.

(3) The prosecuting official is the chief national prosecuting attorney.

2

The members of the lay court and their deputies are named for a period of five years by the national chancellor upon proposal of the minister of justice.

3

The lay court is competent to investigate and to decide in first and last instance cases of high treason . . . , of treason against the country . . . , and of attacks against the national president.

LIII

LAW CONCERNING MEASURES FOR THE
DEFENCE OF THE STATE

(July 3, 1934)

The national cabinet has enacted the following law which is published herewith:

ONLY ARTICLE

The measures taken on June 30, and on July 1 and 2, 1934, for the suppression of acts of treason and high treason are legalized as necessary measures for the defence of the state.

LIV

LAW CONCERNING ECONOMIC MEASURES

(July 3, 1934)

1

(1) The national minister of economics is empowered, within his jurisdiction, to take all measures necessary to promote German commerce as well as to protect and improve economic conditions. Insofar as the measures fall within the jurisdiction of another national minister they will be taken in agreement with such minister.

(2) The measures taken under paragraph one may deviate from existing law.

2

The national minister of economics can determine to what extent violations of his orders may be punished with imprisonment or fine. The amount of the fine is unlimited.

3

This law becomes effective with its promulgation. It goes out of force on September 30, 1934.

LV

LAW CONCERNING THE ACADEMY OF GERMAN LAW

(July 11, 1934)

1

The academy of German law, formerly a corporation of public law in Bavaria, becomes a public corporation of the Reich.

The academy has its own legal personality. Its seat is in Munich.

2

The function of the academy is to promote the re-formation of German legal life and in close, continuing union with the competent legislative offices to realize the national socialist program in the whole field of law.

3

The academy is under the supervision of the national ministers of justice and interior.

4

The president of the academy is appointed and dismissed by the national chancellor. The office of the president is honorary.

The president represents the academy legally and otherwise.

.....

LVI

LAW FOR THE FORMATION OF STUDENT BODIES IN THE
SCIENTIFIC COLLEGES

(April 22, 1933)

1

The fully matriculated students of German blood and mother tongue who are fully matriculated at a scientific university constitute the student body of that university regardless of their citizenship.

2

The student body is a part of the university and represents all of the students. It must cooperate to the end that the students fulfill their duties toward people, state and university.

3

The details concerning the structure and work of the student bodies are regulated by student ordinances of the state governments, and by the codes of the universities and the student bodies.

LVII

LAW RESTRICTING ENROLLMENT IN GERMAN SCHOOLS
AND COLLEGES

(April 25, 1933)

1

In all schools except obligatory schools (*Pflichtschulen*) and in universities, the number of pupils and students is to be so limited that fundamental education is assured and that the requirement of the professions is satisfied.

2

The state cabinets are to determine at the beginning of every school year how many students each school can enroll and how many students each faculty can newly absorb.

3

In those schools and faculties, whose students stand in an especially strong disproportion to the requirements of the professions, the number of pupils and students already accepted during the course of the school year 1933 is to be so lowered that excessive hardship will not result in the restoration of a suitable ratio.

4

In the admission of new students attention is to be paid that the number of German students who are not of arian descent within the meaning of the law for the restoration of professional officials April 7, 1933, may not exceed in each school and faculty the proportion of non-arian to the entire German population. That proportion will be uniformly determined for the entire nation.

In the reduction of the number of pupils and students according to section 3, a suitable ratio between the total number of students and the number of non-arians must be established. In doing so a varying higher proportional number can be taken as the basis.

Paragraphs 1 and 2 do not apply to Germans of non-arian descent whose fathers fought at the front in the World War for Germany or for her allies, nor to descendants of marriages which had taken place before this law came into effect, if one of the parents or two of the grandparents were of arian descent. In the calculation of the proportional and ratio numbers they are not to be included.

5

The obligations which are incumbent upon Germany in international treaties will not be affected through the regulation of this law.

6

The provisions necessary to execute this law are to be decreed by the minister of interior.

7

The law becomes effective upon its proclamation.

LVIII

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNMENT TO THE GERMAN
NATION

Berlin, February 1, 1933*

More than fourteen years have gone by since that unhappy day on which the German nation, deceived by promises from without and from within, forgot the glories of its past, forgot its honour and its freedom and thereby lost everything. Since that day of betrayal the Almighty has turned

* Authorized translation of the official text.

His countenance away from us. Strife and hatred have been the order of the day. Millions of the finest German men and women in all stations of life have had to behold with heavy hearts the unity of the nation breaking up and disappearing in a welter of egoistic political theories, selfish business interests and conflicting social doctrines.

Since that day of revolution, Germany has presented, as so often before in our history, a heartbreaking picture of disunity. We have not received the promised equality and fraternity, and we have lost our liberty. The collapse of the spiritual unity at home was followed by the loss to our people of their political standing in the world.

We are firmly convinced that the German nation entered the fight in 1914 without the slightest feeling of guilt on its part and filled only with the desire to defend its Fatherland which had been attacked and to preserve the freedom, nay, the very existence, of the German people. This being so, we can only see in the disastrous fate which has overtaken us since those November days of 1918 the result of our own collapse at home. But the rest of the world too has suffered no less since then from overwhelming crises. The balance of power which had evolved in the course of history, and which formerly played no small part in bringing about the understanding of the necessity for an internal solidarity of the nations, with all its advantages for trade and commerce, has been set on one side.

The insane Conception of Victors and Vanquished destroyed the confidence existing between nations, and, at the same time, the industry of the entire world. The misery of our people is appalling! Millions of our proletariat are without work and without means of existence, and the entire middle class is rapidly becoming impoverished. If the German peasantry is to go under too, we shall be faced by a catastrophe beyond all conception, for this will not only mean the collapse of a single nation but of a cultural inheritance of the highest importance which has stood for two thousand years.

Symptoms of approaching collapse are all around us. Communism, with its method of madness, is making a powerful and insidious attack upon our discouraged and shattered nation. It wishes to poison the minds of the people, and to drive them into a period which will fall far shorter of its promises than the period through which we have just passed falls short of the promises of the very same apostles of November, 1918.

This negative, destroying spirit has spared nothing of all that is highest and most valuable. Beginning with the family, it has undermined the very foundations of morality and faith, and scoffs at culture and business, nation and fatherland, justice and honour. Fourteen years of Marxism have ruined Germany: one year of Bolshevism would destroy her. The richest and fairest territories of the world would be turned into a smoking heap of ruins. Even the sufferings of the last decade and a half could not be compared to the misery of a Europe in the heart of which the red flag of destruction had been hoisted. The thousands of wounded, the hundreds of dead which this inner

strife has already cost Germany should be a warning of the storm which would come.

In this hour of overwhelming anxiety as to the future of the German nation, the aged leader of our armies in the War summoned us men of the national parties and organizations to fight at home under him once more, as of old at the front, in unity and loyalty, to save the Reich. Our venerable President has joined our hands together in this spirit and for this purpose, and we are determined, as leaders of the nation, to fulfill, as a national Government, the task which has been allotted to us, swearing fidelity only to God, our conscience and the nation.

The inheritance which has fallen to us is a terrible one.

The task with which we are faced is the hardest which has fallen to German statesmen within the memory of man. But we are all filled with unbounded confidence, for we believe in our people and their imperishable virtues. Every class and every individual must help us to found the new Reich.

The National Government will regard it as their first and foremost duty to revive in the nation the spirit of unity and cooperation. They will preserve and defend those basic principles on which our nation has been built up. They regard Christianity as the foundation of our national morality, and the family as the basis of national life. They are determined, without regard for class and social status, to restore the nation to a consciousness of its political and national unity and of the duties consequent upon this realisation. They intend to make respect for our glorious past and pride in our ancient traditions the ground principles for the education of German youth. In this way they will wage a pitiless warfare upon spiritual, political and cultural Nihilism. Germany must not, Germany shall not go under in the chaos of Communism.

Turbulent instincts must be replaced by a national discipline as the guiding principle of our national life. All those institutions which are the strongholds of the energy and vitality of our nation will be taken under the especial care of the Government.

The National Government intends to solve the problem of the reorganization of trade and commerce with two four-year plans:

The German farmer must be rescued in order that the nation may be supplied with the necessities of life.

A concerted and all-embracing attack must be made on unemployment in order that the German working class may be saved from ruin.

The November parties have ruined the German peasantry in fourteen years.

In fourteen years they have created an army of millions of unemployed.

The National Government will, with iron determination and unshakeable steadfastness of purpose, put through the following plan:

Within four years the German peasant must be rescued from the quagmire into which he has fallen.

Within four years unemployment must be finally overcome.

At the same time the conditions necessary for a revival in trade and commerce are provided.

The National Government will couple with this tremendous task of reorganizing business life a reorganisation of the administration and fiscal systems of the Reich, of the Federal States and the Communes.

Only when this has been done can the idea of a continued federal existence of the entire Reich be fully realised.

Compulsory labour service and the "back-to-the-land" policy are two of the basic principles of this programme.

The securing of the necessities of life will include the performance of social duties to the sick and aged.

In economical administration, the promotion of employment, the preservation of the farmer as well as in the exploitation of individual initiative the Government see the best guarantee for the avoidance of any experiments which would endanger the currency.

As regards their foreign policy, the National Government consider their highest mission to be the securing of the right to live and the restoration of freedom to our nation. Their determination to bring to an end the chaotic state of affairs in Germany will assist in restoring to the community of nations a State of equal value and, above all, a State which must have equal rights. They are impressed with the importance of their duty to use this nation of equal rights as an instrument for the securing and maintenance of that peace which the world requires today more than ever before.

May the good will of all others assist in the fulfilment of this our earnest wish for the welfare of Europe and of the whole world.

Great as is our love for our army as the bearer of our arms and the symbol of our great past, we should be happy if the world, by reducing its armaments, would see to it that we need never again increase our own.

If, however, Germany is to experience this political and economic revival and conscientiously fulfil her duties towards the other nations, one decisive step is absolutely necessary first: the

OVERCOMING OF THE DESTROYING MENACE OF COMMUNISM IN GERMANY.

We of this new Government feel ourselves responsible to posterity for the reorganisation of an ordered national State, and, at the same time, for the overcoming of class mania and class warfare. We are not concerned with only a part of the nation but with the entire German people, with the millions of peasants, working men and members of all classes who will either vanquish together the difficulties of this time or together succumb to them.

With our minds made up and true to our oath, we wish, in the face of the inability of the former Reichstag to support this work, to set the German nation itself the task which lies before us.

The President, Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, has summoned us with the command to give to the nation by our united front the possibility of a recovery.

We now therefore call upon the German people to set its signature to this act of reconciliation.

The Government of the national renaissance wishes to work and will work.

It was not this Government which in the course of fourteen years brought the German nation to ruin. What this Government intends to do is to restore the nation to its former eminence.

They are determined to make good in four years the evil done in fourteen.

They cannot, however, subject the work of restoration to the approval of those who are responsible for the collapse.

The parties of Marxism and their followers have had fourteen years to show what they can do.

The result is a heap of ruins.

We now appeal to the German nation to give us four years' time and then to pass judgement.

Obedient to the command of the Field-Marshal, we are ready to begin. May God Almighty give our work His blessing, strengthen our purpose and endow us with wisdom and the trust of our people, for we are fighting not for ourselves but for Germany!

The Government of the Reich.

Adolf Hitler, von Papen, Freiherr von Neurath, Dr. Frick, Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, Dr. Hugenberg, Seldte, Dr. Görtner, von Blomberg, Eltz von Rübénach, Göring.

LIX

PRESIDENT VON HINDENBURG

in Potsdam on March 21, 1933

on the Occasion of the Opening of the Reichstag of the
National Renaissance*

By my decree of the 1st February of this year I dissolved the Reichstag in order that the German people might have an opportunity to record its decision concerning the national coalition government formed by me. In the elections of the 5th March our people have placed themselves with a clear majority behind the government which I have summoned by reason of my confidence in them and have thus given them a constitutional mandate to commence their work.

Many and arduous are the tasks which you, Herr Reichskanzler, and you, gentlemen, Members of the Cabinet, have before you. Both in home

* Authorized translation of the official text.

and foreign politics, in our own household as in the world, there are difficult problems to solve and important decisions to be made. I am convinced that Chancellor and Government will attack these problems with firm determination, and I trust that you, the members of the newly formed Reichstag, will take your stand behind the Government in a full appreciation of the state of affairs and the measures which are necessary, and that you for your part will do all in your power to support the work of the Government.

The place¹ in which we are assembled today summons up memories of the Prussia of former days which became great in the fear of God by devotion to duty, unflinching courage and selfless patriotism, which principles have welded the German peoples into one nation. May the spirit of this hallowed spot inspire the men of today, may it free us from selfish concerns and party strife and join us together in a feeling of devotion to the best of our national traditions and spiritual renewal for the service of a proud, free and united Germany.

With this desire in my heart, I extend my greetings to the Reichstag at the beginning of its new term of office and

CALL UPON THE CHANCELLOR TO ADDRESS THE ASSEMBLY.

Chancellor Adolf Hitler

Herr Reichspräsident, Members of the German Reichstag,

For years our people has been oppressed by care.

After a period of prosperity and progress when every branch of our national life flourished, we have fallen once more—as so often in the past—upon times of misery and want.

Millions of Germans are seeking in vain their daily bread, in spite of industry and the will to work, and in spite of ability, knowledge and experience. Business is at a standstill, finance in ruins and millions are without work.

The world sees our cities only from the outside, and knows nothing of the misery which is under the surface.

— Ever changing has been the lot of our nation for two thousand years, a rise has always been followed by a fall. The causes have always been the same. The German, restless and distraught, at war within himself and ignorant of what he really desires, sinks into a state of coma. He dreams of justice in the stars and loses his contact with reality.

The more nation and country fall into decay and national life grows weaker, the more have men sought in all times to make a virtue of necessity. The theory of the individual value of our tribes hid from view the fact that cooperation was a vital necessity. Ultimately there was only one way left for the German, the way within. As a nation of poets and thinkers, they dreamed then of the better world in which the others lived, and only when need and suffering had rained their heaviest blows upon them did there

¹ Owing to the burning by Communists of the Reichstag, the opening of the new Reichstag session took place in the Garrison Church at Potsdam which is the last resting-place of Frederick the Great.

arise, perhaps out of their art, the longing for a period of revival, for a new Reich and, at the same time, for a new life.

When Bismarck steered the cultural aspirations of the German nation into the channels of national unity, the long period of misery and internal strife seemed for ever ended. Obedient to the spirit of the proclamation of the Empire, our nation played its part in the revival of prosperity, of culture and moral standards. Its consciousness of its own strength has always been inseparably bound up with its feeling of responsibility for cooperation among the European nations.

It was during this time of growing national solidarity of the German peoples that our nation began to lose its sense of political perspective, and under this loss we are suffering today.

This inner decay it was which played once more, as so often before, into the hands of the world around us. The revolution of November, 1918 ended a conflict into which the German nation had been drawn in the most sacred conviction that it was but protecting its liberty and its right to live.

THE MYTH OF GERMANY'S WAR GUILT

Neither the Kaiser nor the Government nor the nation wanted this war. It was only the collapse of our nation which compelled a weakened race to take upon itself, against its most sacred convictions, the guilt for this war.

This collapse, however, was followed by the disintegration of our entire life. Politically, morally, culturally and economically, our nation sank deeper and deeper into the morass.

Worst of all was the deliberate annihilation of our faith in our own strength, the soiling of our traditions and the destruction of the very roots of our belief in ourselves.

Since then, crisis after crisis has shaken our nation to its very foundations.

But the rest of the world has not been made any happier or richer by this severing of a politically and economically important limb from the body corporate. Out of the insane theory of a permanent status of victors and vanquished arose the folly of reparations and, as a result, the breakdown of the entire economic system of the world.

While the German nation and the German Reich were thus sinking into the bog of inner political strife and economic ruin, a small group of Germans was beginning to come forward which had not lost faith in the nation and was determined to weld it once more into a united entity.

It is to this young Germany that you, Herr Generalfeldmarschall, magnanimously entrusted, on the 30th January 1933, the leadership of the nation.

THE APPEAL TO THE NATION.

In the conviction that the German people was bound to give its approval to the new order of things in Germany, we of this National Government made a final appeal to the nation.

On the 5th of March the people decided with a majority in our favour.

Rising as never before, it has in a few weeks restored the national honour, and, thanks to your clear judgment, Herr Reichspräsident, has united the symbol of past greatness to that of the strength and vitality of youth.

In this solemn hour the National Government faces the Reichstag for the first time and proclaims its unshakeable determination to undertake the reorganization of the German Reich and nation, and to carry it through successfully.

The National Government, conscious that they have the will of the nation behind them, demands from the parties and the representatives of the nation that, after fifteen years of misery in Germany, they raise themselves above the doctrinaire conceptions of party politics and recognize the inevitable necessity of cooperation which has been laid upon us by the needs of the times and their threatening consequences.

The task, which fate has demanded that we fulfill, makes it our bounden duty to rise high above the petty considerations of everyday party politics.

We are determined to restore once more unity of spirit and of determination to our people.

We are determined to protect the eternal foundations of our national life, the strength and the virtues which are our birthright.

We are determined to raise once more to the guiding principles of organization and government those ideas without which no nation and no country can rise to greatness.

We are determined to combine trust in the sound and natural instincts of life with a steady development of inner and foreign policy.

We are determined to constitute a government which, instead of constantly wavering from side to side, shall be firm and purposeful, and restore to our people a source of unshakeable authority.

We are determined to profit from all those experiences which in past centuries have proved of value to mankind, politically and economically, both to the individual and to the community.

We are determined to restore politics to that level which shall enable them to act as the reorganizing and guiding principles of national life.

We are determined to make use of all the truly vital forces in the nation which shall serve to ensure the future of Germany, to gather together all men of good will under our banner, and to deprive those who wish to harm our nation of the power to do so.

We are determined to create a new community out of the German peoples—a community formed of men of every status and profession and of every so-called class, which shall be able to achieve that community of interests which the welfare of the entire nation demands. All classes must be welded together into a single German nation.

This nation shall take under its protection for all time our faith and our culture, our honour and our freedom.

In our relations to the world we wish, having clearly before our eyes the sacrifices of the War, to be the champions of a peace which shall finally heal those wounds from which all are suffering.

The Government of the national renaissance is determined to fulfill the task which they have undertaken before the German nation. They stand today before the German Reichstag with the earnest desire to receive from it the support necessary for the fulfilling of their mission. May you, the elected representatives of the nation, recognise the meaning of this epoch and join with us in the great work of national restoration.

HINDENBURG AS SYMBOL.

There is among us today a grand old man. We rise to salute you, Herr Generalfeldmarschall.

Three times you have fought on the field of honour for the existence and the future of our nation.

As lieutenant in the army of the King of Prussia, you fought for the unity of Germany; under him who afterwards became the first German Kaiser you fought for the glorious founding of the German Empire and, as our supreme leader, you fought in the greatest war of all time for the existence of the Reich and for the freedom of our people.

You were present when the German Empire came into being, you beheld the work of the Great Chancellor, the glorious rise of our nation, and you have led us in those momentous times in which fate has allowed us to play our part.

HINDENBURG, THE PATRON OF THE NATIONAL RENAISSANCE

Providence has willed it, Herr Generalfeldmarschall, that you should be present here today as the patron of the renaissance of our nation. Your marvellous career is a symbol for us all of the indestructible forces which are latent in the German nation. The youth of Germany and, indeed, the whole nation is filled with gratitude to you and that you have lent your approval and given your blessing to the rehabilitation of the German nation. May these forces give strength also to the newly elected representatives of the people.

May Providence at the same time grant us that courage and perseverance of which this spot, hallowed for every German, reminds us and give us who stand here at the tomb of our greatest monarch the strength to fight for the freedom and greatness of our people.

LX

CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER

before the Reichstag on March 23, 1933*

Men and Women of the German Reichstag,
The National Socialist Party and the German National People's Party,
with the concurrence of the Government of the Reich, have proposed a

*Authorized translation of the official text.

motion for the adoption of a law for the removal of the distress of the people and the Reich. The reasons for this extraordinary procedure are as follows:—

In November, 1918, Marxist organizations seized the executive power by means of a revolution. The monarchs were dethroned, the authorities of the Reich and of the States removed from office, and thereby a breach of the constitution was committed. The success of the revolution in a material sense protected the guilty parties from the hands of the law. They sought to justify it morally by asserting that Germany or its Government bore

THE GUILT FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

This assertion was deliberately and actually untrue. In consequence, however, these untrue accusations in the interest of our former enemies led to the severest oppression of the entire German nation and to the breach of the assurances given to us in Wilson's fourteen points, and so for Germany, that is to say the working classes of the German people, to a time of infinite misfortune.

All the promises made by the men of November, 1918 proved to be, if not intentionally misleading from the start, no less damnable illusions. The "achievements of the revolution," taken as a whole, were only pleasing to the smallest fraction of our people. But for the overwhelming majority, at least in so far as they had to earn their daily bread by honest work, they were absolutely tragic. It is, of course, comprehensible, that the instinct of self-preservation of the parties and men responsible for this state of affairs provided them with a thousand palliatives and excuses. The sober comparison of the average results of the last fourteen years with the promises proclaimed aloud at the time is disastrous for the responsible instigators of this crime unparalleled in German history.

In the course of the last fourteen years our nation has suffered from a decline in all spheres of life on such a scale that anything worse can hardly be imagined. The question of what could have been worse in this period is unanswerable in view of the basic values of our German nation and the formerly existing political and economic heritage.

The German nation itself, in spite of the difficulty it finds in changing its political feelings and opinions, has more and more turned its back on the views, parties and associations responsible in its eyes for these circumstances.

The number of Germans who were wholehearted supporters of the Weimar Constitution was, in spite of the power of suggestion and the ruthless exploitation of governmental authority, actually no more than a fraction of the whole nation.

It was, further, a characteristic feature of these fourteen years that—apart from natural fluctuations—the line of development led constantly downwards. The recognition of this depressing fact was one of the causes of the general despair. It furthered the realization of the necessity of a fundamental abandonment of the ideas, organizations and men that the nation

gradually began rightly to recognize as the underlying causes of our decline.

The National Socialist movement was consequently able, in spite of the worst forms of oppression, to attract a constantly increasing number of Germans who were ready to devote themselves heart and soul to the struggle. In combination with the other national associations, it has now, in the course of a few weeks, removed the powers that had dominated the country since November, 1918 and, by a revolution, placed public authority in the hands of the National Government. On the 5th of March the German people gave its approval to this act.

THE PROGRAMME OF RECONSTRUCTION

of the nation and the Reich arises from the intensity of the needs of our political, moral and economic life. Fully convinced, as they are, that this collapse is due to internal infirmities in our national body corporate, it is the aim of the Government of the National Revolution to remove from our national life those defects which would prevent any real recovery in future too. The splitting up of the nation into groups with irreconcilable views, systematically brought about by the false doctrines of Marxism, means the destruction of the basis of a possible communal life.

The disintegration attacks all the foundations of social order. The completely irreconcilable views of different individuals with regard to the terms state, society, religion, morals, family and economy give rise to differences that lead to internecine war.

Starting from the liberalism of the last century, this development is bound by natural laws to end in communistic chaos.

The mobilization of the most primitive instincts leads to a connection between the views with regard to a political idea and the doings of real criminals. Starting with plunderings, incendiarism, train-wrecking, political outrages and so on, everything receives its moral sanction from the principles of Communism. The method of individual terrorization of the masses alone has cost the National Socialist movement over 350 dead and tens of thousands of wounded in the course of a few years.

The setting on fire of the Reichstag, as an unsuccessful attempt forming part of a well organized plan, is only a sample of what Europe had to expect from the victory of this infernal doctrine. When a certain section of the press, especially abroad, now attempts, in accordance with political untruth adopted as a principle by Communism, to identify the national renaissance in Germany with this outrage, this can only strengthen my determination to leave nothing undone in order to exact expiation for this crime by the public execution of the guilty incendiary and his accomplices.

The whole extent of the intended action of this organization has not been sufficiently realized either by the German nation or by the rest of the world. It was only by taking immediate action that the Government prevented a development whose catastrophic results would have shaken the whole of Europe. Many of those both in and outside Germany who now

associate themselves with the interests of communism out of hatred for the national renaissance would themselves have been the victims of such a development.

It will be the supreme task of the National Government utterly to eliminate and remove this symptom in our country, not only in Germany's interest but also in that of the rest of Europe.

They will constantly keep in view the fact that it is not a question of the negative problem which these organizations constitute, but of carrying out the positive task of gaining the German workman for the national state. It is only the creation of a real national community, rising above the interests and differences of rank and class, that can permanently remove the source of nourishment of these aberrations of the human mind. The establishment of such a solidarity of views in the German body corporate is all the more important, for it is only thereby that the possibility is provided of maintaining friendly relations with foreign powers, without regard to the tendencies of general principles by which they are dominated, for the elimination of communism in Germany is a purely domestic German affair. The rest of the world may well have just as great an interest in it, for the outbreak of communistic chaos in the densely populated German Reich would lead to political and economic consequences of inconceivable extent, especially in the rest of Western Europe. The internal decay of our national life led inevitably to a more and more serious weakening of the authority of the supreme government. The decrease in the respect felt for the Government of the Reich which was the inevitable consequence of such insecure internal conditions led, in the case of various parties in the different federal States, to conceptions that are incompatible with the unity of the Reich. All regard for the traditions of the federal States cannot brush aside the recognition of the bitter fact that the excessive disintegration of state life in the past was not only not helpful but really injurious to the position held by our nation in the world.

It is not the task of a supreme government subsequently to surrender to the theoretical principle of an unrestrained system of standardization what has grown up organically. But it is its duty to establish beyond any doubt this spiritual and generally desired unity of the leadership of the nation, and thus of the idea of the Reich as such.

The welfare of our communes and federal States has need of state protection just as much as the existence of every individual German. Therefore the Government of the Reich do not intend to abolish the local governments of the federal States by an enabling act. But, on the other hand, they will adopt those measures and will guarantee from now on and for ever a uniformity of political intentions in the Reich and the States. The greater the spiritual and generally desired unanimity, the less can it be in the interest of the Reich in the future to do violence to the cultural and economic life in the individual States. The recently prevailing state of a mutual disparagement of the governments of the federal States and the Reich, with the aid of the modern means offered by popular propaganda, is absolutely im-

possible. Under no circumstances will I permit, and the Government of the Reich will take all measures to prevent, that, in future, ministers of German governments ever again accuse or disparage each other in the eyes of the world at public mass meetings and even on the wireless.

It also leads to a complete discrediting of the legislative body in the eyes of the people, when, even if it be assumed that times are normal, the people is forced to go to the polls, either in the Reich or in the various States, almost twenty times in the course of four years. The Government of the Reich will find a way of reaching the goal that the expression of the people's will when once given shall lead, for the Reich and the States, to uniform consequences.

A still more comprehensive

REFORM OF THE REICH

can only result from active development. Its aim must be the construction of a constitution combining the people's will with the authority of real leadership. The legal sanction to such a constitutional reform will be granted by the nation itself.

The Government of the National Revolution regard it in principle as their duty, in accordance with the vote of confidence given them by the nation, to prevent the exercise of influence on the structure of the life of the nation by those elements who knowingly and intentionally deny this life. Theoretical equality in the eyes of the law cannot be extended to the toleration on an equal basis of those who scorn the laws on principle, or indeed to surrendering the nation's freedom to them on the basis of democratic doctrines. But the Government will accord equality in the eyes of the law to all those who take their stand, in face of this danger, on the line adopted by our nation and behind the national interests, and who do not deny their support to the Government.

Our immediate task is now to call to account the spiritual leaders of these destructive tendencies, and to rescue their misguided victims.

We consider in particular the millions of German workmen who profess these ideas of madness and self-destruction merely as the result of the unpardonable weakness of earlier governments who did not prevent the dissemination of theories, the putting into practice of which they themselves were bound to punish. The Government will allow no-one to deter them from their resolve to solve this question. It is now the business of the Reichstag, for its part, to adopt a definite attitude to this question. This will not affect the fate of Communism and of the organizations affiliated with it. The National Government adopt their measures in this respect from no other point of view but that of protecting the German people, and especially the millions of the working classes, from untold misery.

They therefore regard the question of a

MONARCHICAL RESTORATION

as one which cannot be discussed at present, if for no other reason than the existence of this state of affairs. They would have to regard an attempt by

the individual States to solve this problem on their own responsibility as an attack on the unity of the Reich, and act accordingly.

Simultaneously with this political purification of our public life, the Government of the Reich will undertake a thorough

MORAL PURGING OF THE BODY CORPORATE OF THE NATION.

The entire educational system, the theatre, the cinema, literature, the press and the wireless—all these will be used as means to this end and valued accordingly. They must all serve for the maintenance of the eternal values present in the essence of our nationality. Art will always remain the expression and the reflection of the longings and the realities of an era. The neutral international attitude of aloofness is rapidly disappearing. Heroism is coming forward ardently and will in future shape and lead political destiny. It is the task of art to be the expression of this determining spirit of the age. Blood and race will once more become the source of artistic intuition. It is the task of the Government to take measures to secure that, especially at a time of limited political power, the inner life's value and will to live of the nation find all the greater cultural expression. This resolve obliges us to regard our great past with thankful admiration. A bridge must be constructed between this past and the future in all spheres of our historical and cultural life. Respect for the great men of the past must once more be impressed on the youth of Germany as a sacred heritage. The Government, being resolved to undertake the political and moral purification of our public life, are creating and securing the conditions necessary for a really profound

REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The advantages of a personal and political nature that might arise from compromising with atheistic organizations would not outweigh the consequences which would become apparent in the destruction of general moral basic values.

The National Government regard the two Christian confessions as the weightiest factors for the maintenance of our nationality. They will respect the agreements concluded between them and the federal States.

Their rights are not to be infringed. But the Government hope and expect that the work on the national and moral regeneration of our nation which they have made their task will, on the other hand, be treated with the same respect. They will adopt an attitude of objective justice towards all other confessions. But they cannot permit that the fact of belonging to a certain confession or a certain race should constitute a release from general legal obligations or even a licence for the commission with impunity or the toleration of crimes. It will be the Government's care to maintain honest cooperation between Church and State; the struggle against materialistic views and for a real national community is just as much in the interest of the German nation as in that of the welfare of our Christian faith.

OUR LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

must serve above all for the maintenance of this national community. The irremovableness of the judges must ensure a sense of responsibility and the exercise of discretion in their judgments in the interests of society. Not the individual but the nation as a whole alone can be the centre of legislative solicitude. High treason and treachery to the nation will be ruthlessly eradicated in future. The foundations of the existence of justice cannot be other than the foundations of the existence of the nation. Let the judges therefore always pay regard to the gravity of the decisions taken by those who are responsible for forming the life of the nation under the hard pressure of reality.

Great are the tasks of the National Government in the

SPHERE OF ECONOMIC LIFE.

Here all action must be governed by one law: the people does not live for business and business does not exist for capital, but capital serves business and business serves the people. In principle, the Government will not protect the economic interests of the German people by the circuitous method of an economic bureaucracy to be organized by the state, but by the utmost furtherance of private initiative and by the recognition of the rights of property.

A just balance must be established between productive intention on the one hand and productive work on the other. Administration must respect, by means of economy, the results of ability, diligence and work. The problem of our public finances is also to no small degree a problem of economical administration. The proposed

REFORM OF OUR FISCAL SYSTEM

must lead to a simplification of assessment and thus to a reduction of the costs and burdens. In principle, the mill of taxation must be built beside the stream and not at the source. These measures must be accompanied by a reduction of burdens through simplification of the administration. This reform of the fiscal system to be carried out in the Reich and the federal States is, however, not a question which can be settled in a moment, but only during a period commensurate with the necessities of the situation.

The Government will systematically

AVOID CURRENCY EXPERIMENTS.

We are faced above all by two economic tasks of the first magnitude. The salvation of the German farmer must be achieved at all costs.

The ruin of this class in our nation would lead to the gravest conceivable consequences. The restoration of the

REMUNERATIVE CAPACITY OF AGRICULTURE

may be hard on the consumer. But the fate that would await the entire German nation, if the German farmer were ruined, is not to be compared with these hardships. It is only in connection with the remunerative capa-

city of our agriculture which must be attained at all costs that the question of protection against distraint or relief from indebtedness can be solved. Should that not be achieved, then the ruin of our agriculturists would lead not only to the collapse of German business as a whole, but above all to the collapse of the German body corporate. To maintain our agriculture in a healthy state is the first condition for the prosperity and expansion of our industry, of German home trade and of German exports. But for the counterpoise of the German agricultural class, the communistic madness would already have overrun Germany, and thus finally ruined German business. What the whole of business, including the export trade, owes to the sound commonsense of the German agriculturists cannot be repaid by any sacrifice of a business nature. We must, therefore, devote our greatest solicitude in future to pursuing the back-to-the-land policy in Germany.

Furthermore, it is perfectly clear to the National Government that the final removal of the distress both in agricultural business and in that of the towns depends on the

ABSORPTION OF THE ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION.

This constitutes the second of the great economic tasks. It can only be solved by a general appeasement, in applying sound natural economic principles and all measures necessary, even if, at the time, they cannot reckon with any degree of popularity. The providing of work and the compulsory labour service are, in this connection, only individual measures within the scope of the entire action proposed.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE MIDDLE CLASSES is similar to that adopted by them to the German agriculturists. Their salvation can only be achieved within the scope of the general economic policy. The National Government are determined to solve this question thoroughly. They recognize it as their historical task to support and further the millions of German workers in the struggle for their right of existence. As Chancellor and National Socialist, I feel myself allied with them as the former companions of my youth. The increase of the consuming power of these masses will be an important means of furthering economic recovery. While maintaining our

SOCIAL LEGISLATION,

the first step must be taken for its reform. Above all, however, all working power will be utilized in the service of the nation as a whole. The waste of millions of hours of human labour is an act of madness and a crime that must lead to the impoverishment of everyone. Whatever values may be produced by the utilization of our superfluous man-power, they will represent indispensable vital necessities for millions of people who are now prostrated by misery and distress. It must and will be possible for our national talent for organization to succeed in solving this problem.

We are aware that the geographical position of Germany with her lack of raw materials does not fully permit of

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

for the Reich. It cannot be too often emphasized that nothing is further from the thoughts of the Government of the Reich than hostility to exporting. We are fully aware that we have need of the connection with the outside world, and that the marketing of German commodities in the world provides a livelihood for many millions of our fellow-countrymen.

We also know what are the conditions necessary for a sound exchange of services between the nations of the world. For Germany has been compelled for years to perform services without receiving an equivalent, with the result that the task of maintaining Germany as an active partner in the exchange of commodities is not so much one of commercial as of financial policy. So long as we are not accorded a reasonable settlement of our foreign debts corresponding to our economic capacity, we are unfortunately compelled to maintain our foreign exchange control. The Government of the Reich is, for that reason, also compelled to maintain the restrictions on the efflux of capital across the frontiers of Germany. If the Government of the Reich are guided by these principles, we may certainly expect that increasing understanding abroad will facilitate the inclusion of the German Reich in the peaceful competition of the nations.

THE FURTHERANCE OF TRANSPORT

until a sensible balance is reached between all transport interests will be initiated at the beginning of the coming month by a reform of the tax on motor vehicles. The maintenance of the German Railways Company and its return to the hands of the Reich as soon as possible is a task imposed upon us not only as an economic but also as a moral duty. The National Government will devote their energies to the development of aviation as a means of peaceful communication between the nations.

In all these spheres of activity the Government require the support not only of the general forces in our nation, which they are resolved to make use of to the greatest extent, but also of the devoted trust and work of the professional official classes. It is only in cases where the public finances are in dire need that intervention will take place, but even then absolute justice will be the supreme law governing our action.

The protection of the frontiers of the Reich and thereby of the lives of our people and the existence of our business is now in the hands of the Reichswehr, which, in accordance with the terms imposed upon us by the Treaty of Versailles, is to be regarded as the

ONLY REALLY DISARMED ARMY

in the world. In spite of its enforced smallness and entirely insufficient armament, the German people may regard their Reichswehr with proud satisfaction. This little instrument for our national self-defense has come into being under the most difficult conditions. The spirit imbuing it is that of our best military traditions. The German nation has thus fulfilled with painful conscientiousness the obligations imposed upon it by the Peace Treaty, indeed, even the replacement of ships for our fleet then sanctioned has, I may perhaps be allowed to say, unfortunately, only been carried out to a small extent.

For years Germany has been waiting in vain for the fulfilment of the promise of disarmament made to her by the others. It is the sincere desire of the National Government to be able to refrain from increasing our army and our weapons, in so far as the rest of the world is now also ready to fulfil its obligations in the matter of radical disarmament. For Germany desires nothing except

AN EQUAL RIGHT TO LIVE AND EQUAL FREEDOM.

In any case the National Government will educate the German people in this spirit of a desire for freedom. The national honour, the honour of our army and the ideal of freedom must once more become sacred to the German people!

THE GERMAN NATION WISHES TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.

But it is for this very reason that the Government of the Reich will employ every means to obtain the final removal of the division of the nations of the world into two categories. The keeping open of this wound leads to distrust on the one side and hatred on the other, and thus to a general feeling of insecurity. The National Government are ready to extend a hand in sincere understanding to every nation that is ready finally to make an end of the tragic past. The international economic distress can only disappear when the basis has been provided by stable political relations and when the nations have regained confidence in each other.

FOR THE OVERCOMING OF THE ECONOMIC CATASTROPHE

three things are necessary:

1. absolutely authoritative leadership in internal affairs, in order to create confidence in the stability of conditions;
2. the securing of peace by the great nations for a long time to come, with a view to restoring the confidence of the nations in each other;
3. the final victory of the principles of commonsense in the organization and conduct of business, and also a general release from reparations and impossible liabilities for debts and interest.

We are unfortunately faced by the fact that

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE,

in spite of lengthy negotiations, has so far reached no practical result. The decision regarding the securing of a real measure of disarmament has been constantly delayed by the raising of questions of technical detail and by the introduction of problems that have nothing to do with disarmament. This procedure is useless.

The illegal state of one-sided disarmament and the resulting national insecurity of Germany cannot continue any longer.

We recognize it as a sign of the feeling of responsibility and of the good will of the British Government that they have endeavored, by means of their disarmament proposal, to cause the Conference finally to arrive at speedy decisions. The Government of the Reich will support every endeavour aimed at really carrying out generally disarmament and securing the fulfil-

ment of Germany's long overdue claim for disarmament. For fourteen years we have been disarmed, and for fourteen months we have been waiting for the results of the Disarmament Conference. Even more far-reaching is the plan of the head of the Italian Government, which makes a broadminded and far-seeing attempt to secure a peaceful and consistent development of the whole of European policy. We attach the greatest weight to this plan, and we are ready to cooperate with absolute sincerity on the basis it provides, in order to unite the four Great Powers, England, France, Italy and Germany, in friendly cooperation in attacking with courage and determination the problems upon the solution of which the fate of Europe depends.

It is for this reason that we are particularly grateful for the appreciative heartiness with which the national renaissance of Germany has been greeted in Italy. We hope and trust that the similarity of our spiritual ideals will be the foundation of a constant strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries.

In the same way, the Government of the Reich, who regard Christianity as the unshakeable foundation of the morals and moral code of the nation, attach the greatest value to friendly relations with the Holy See, and are endeavoring to develop them. We feel sympathy for our brother nation in Austria in its trouble and distress. In all their doings the Government of the Reich are conscious of the connection between the destiny of all German races. Their attitude towards the other foreign powers may be gathered from what has already been said. But even in cases where our mutual relations are encumbered with difficulties, we shall endeavor to arrive at a settlement. But in any case the basis for an understanding can never be the distinction between victor and vanquished.

We are convinced that such settlement is possible in our relations with France, if the governments will attack the problems affecting them on both sides in a really broadminded way. The Government of the Reich are ready to cultivate with the Soviet Union friendly relations profitable to both parties. It is above all the Government of the National Revolution who feel themselves in a position to adopt such a positive policy with regard to Soviet Russia. The fight against Communism in Germany is our internal affair in which we will never permit interference from outside. Our political relations with other Powers to whom we are bound by common interests will not be affected thereby. Our relations with the remaining countries also deserve to receive our most serious attention in future, especially our relations with the great oversea states with whom Germany has long been connected by ties of friendship and economic interests.

We have particularly at heart the fate of the Germans living beyond the frontiers of Germany who are allied with us in speech, culture and customs and have to make a hard fight to retain these values. The National Government are resolved to use all the means at their disposal to support the rights internationally guaranteed to the German minorities.

We welcome the plan for a

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

and approve of its meeting at an early date. The Government of the Reich are ready to take part in this Conference, in order to arrive at positive results at last.

The most important question is the

PROBLEM OF OUR PRIVATE SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM
EXTERNAL INDEBTEDNESS.

The complete change in the conditions in the commodity markets of the world renders an adjustment necessary. It is only by trustful cooperation that a real removal of the general anxiety can be brought about. Ten years of honest peace will be more advantageous to the welfare of all nations than thirty years spent in fruitless discussion of the terms victor and vanquished.

In order to place themselves in a position to fulfil the tasks outlined above, the Government have had

THE ENABLING BILL

introduced in the Reichstag by the National Socialist and German National parties. Part of the proposed measures require the majority necessary for constitutional amendments. The carrying out of these tasks is necessary. It would be contrary to the spirit of the national renaissance and not meet the necessities of the case if the Government were to negotiate and ask for the sanction of the Reichstag to their measures in each case. But in promoting this bill the Government are not actuated by the intention of doing away with the Reichstag as such. On the contrary, they reserve for themselves in future the opportunity of informing the Reichstag regarding their measures of obtaining its sanction.

But the authority and the fulfilment of the aforesaid tasks would suffer if doubt were to arise among the people as to the stability of the new regime. The Government of the Reich consider a further meeting of the Reichstag impossible in the nation's present state of profound agitation. Hardly ever has a revolution on such a large scale been carried out in so disciplined and bloodless a fashion as this renaissance of the German people in the last few weeks. It is my will and firm intention to see to it that this peaceful development continues in future.

Yet it is all the more necessary that the National Government should be given that sovereign position which, at such a time, is the only one suited to prevent a different development. The Government will only make use of these powers in so far as they are essential for carrying out the vitally necessary measures. Neither the existence of the Reichstag nor that of the Reichsrat are menaced. The position and rights of the President of the Reich remain unaffected. It will always be the foremost task of the Government to act in harmony with his aims. The separate existence of the federal States will not be done away with. The rights of the churches will not be diminished, and their relationship to the State will not be modified. The number of cases in which an internal necessity exists for having recourse to such a law is in itself a limited one. All the more, however, the Government insist upon the passing of the law. They prefer a clear decision in any case.

They offer the parties in the Reichstag the possibility of a peaceful settlement and, consequently, of an understanding to be arrived at in the future. But the Government are equally resolved and ready to meet the announcement of refusal and thus of resistance.

It is for you, Gentlemen, now to decide for peace or war!

LXI

CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER

Before two million workers on May 1, 1933
the "National Labour Day"

The nation is crumbling to pieces, and in this process of collapse all power and all vital energy are disappearing. The results of class warfare are to be seen all around us and we wish to learn a lesson from them, for we have recognized one thing as necessary for the return to health of our nation:

THE GERMAN PEOPLE MUST LEARN TO KNOW EACH OTHER AGAIN.

The millions who have been split up into professions and kept apart by artificial class distinctions, who, foolishly clinging to profession and status, cannot understand each other any longer, must find once more the way to each other. An enormous and stupendous task—we know it. After seventy years of the preaching of this madness as a political idea, after the destruction of community feeling has been held as a political duty for seventy years, it is, of course, difficult to alter the opinions of people at a blow. Nevertheless we must not give way to despondency and despair. What has been built up by the hands of man, can also be destroyed by the hands of man; what human madness once invented, can be overcome by human wisdom.

We know that this process of finding one another again and getting to know one another cannot be a question of weeks or months, and not even of a few years. We are, however, absolutely determined to fulfil this mighty task which has been laid upon us; we have made up our minds to lead the people of Germany to one another and, if necessary, to compel them.

That is the meaning of the first of May, which day, from now on, shall be celebrated in Germany throughout the centuries, in order that on it all those who are taking part in our creative national work may come together and, once in the year, may give each other their hands, fully recognizing that nothing can be achieved if all are not ready to do their part in the great work. Therefore we have chosen as the motto of this day the following sentence:

HONOUR WORK AND RESPECT THE WORKER!

It is hard today for millions to find the way to each other again over all the hatred and misunderstandings which, in the past, have been artificially cultivated. The recognition of one fact should make the following of this way easier. Every man, wherever and whatever his work, must always re-

I must now speak of another measure, the freeing of the present existing unions from the influence of those men who believe that they possess in those unions a last line of defense. Let them have no illusions as to this. What they built up we hold for wrong. We see however that the German genius, working against the will of the founders of these unions, gradually awoke in millions of individuals a feeling which found its outward expression in mighty organizations. Those men would have destroyed those organizations. We are taking them over, not to preserve everything in the same form for the future but to save for the German working-man all that he had put by in these organizations in the way of savings and, furthermore, in order that the German worker might cooperate in the building of the new state, to enable him to do this on a basis of equality. We are not erecting a state against him; no, with him must the new state be built up.

He must not have the feeling that he is something inferior and to be despised. No, on the contrary! We want to fill him from the very beginning, already in the earliest stages, with the feeling that he is a German with the same rights as any other. And, in my eyes, equal rights have never been anything else than the cheerful undertaking of equal duties.

ONE MUST NOT BE ALWAYS SPEAKING OF RIGHTS BUT ONE MUST ALSO SPEAK OF DUTIES.

The German worker must show the others that he no longer stands outside the German nation and its rebirth. There will, of course, be elements who do not agree. There will, however be people like this in the right wing too. The day's work will be carried on regardless of them.

LXIII

CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER

to the Reich Commissioners in the Reich Chancery,
Berlin, on July 6, 1933*

The political parties have now been finally abolished; this is a historical event of which the importance and far-reaching effect have in many cases not yet been realized at all. We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially of the methods of voting and of the decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations and in working committees, and lay stress upon the responsibility in all cases of the individual.

The achievement of external power must be followed by the internal education of the individual. We must therefore guard against making purely formal decisions from day to day and expecting them to lead to a final solution. Mankind are only too ready to make the external form fit their own mental conceptions.

* Translation of abridged official text.

Direction must not be changed until the right men have been found for the change. More revolutions have been successful at the outset than have, when once successful, been arrested and brought to a standstill at the right moment.

The revolution is not a permanent state of affairs, and it must not be allowed to develop into such a state. The stream of revolution released must be guided into the safe channel of evolution. The most important point in this connection is the education of the individual. The present state of affairs must be improved, and the men who incorporate it must be educated up to the National Socialist view of the state. We must therefore not dismiss a business-man if he is a good business-man even if he is not yet a National Socialist; and especially not if the National Socialist who is to take his place knows nothings about the business.

IN BUSINESS, ABILITY MUST BE THE ONLY AUTHORITATIVE STANDARD.

The task of National Socialism is to secure the development of our nation. We must not look around to see if there is still something to revolutionize, but it is our task to secure position after position, in order to hold them and gradually find the very best men for them. In doing so we must spread our action over many years and reckon with long periods. We cannot provide bread for a single workman by mere theoretical coordination. History will not judge us according as to whether we have removed and imprisoned the largest number of economists but according as to whether we have succeeded in providing work.

WE HAVE NOW ABSOLUTELY THE POWER TO ENFORCE
OUR WILL EVERYWHERE.

But we must be able to replace the men we remove by better men. The business man must be judged in the first place according to his business abilities, and we must obviously keep the business apparatus in order. We will not get rid of unemployment by means of business commissions, organizations, constructions and theories. It is not a question at the present of programmes and ideas, but of the daily bread for five million men. Business is a living organism which cannot be transformed at a single blow. Business develops in accordance with primitive laws that are anchored in human nature. The spiritual bacillus carriers that are now attempting to find a way into business are a danger to the state and the nation. We must not reject practical experience because it is contrary to a certain idea. When we present ourselves to our nation with reforms, we must also prove that we understand things and are able to master them.

OUR TASK IS WORK, WORK AND NOTHING BUT WORK!

We will derive the most powerful authority from success in the provision of work. Our programme has not been drawn up for the sake of fine gestures, but in order to maintain the life of the German nation. The ideas of the programme oblige us not to act like fools and upset everything but to realize our trains of thought wisely and carefully. In the long run, our political power will be all the more secure, the more we succeed in underpinning it

economically. The Reich Commissioners must therefore see to it and are responsible that no organizations or party offices assume the functions of government, dismiss individuals and make appointments to offices, to do which the government of the Reich alone and thus, with regard to business, the Reich Minister of Economics, is competent. The Party has now become the State. All power is invested in the Reich Government. We must prevent the centre of gravity of German life being once more shifted to different quarters or even organizations. There is no longer any authority emanating from any one part of the Reich but only that based on the idea of the German nation as a whole.

LXIV

CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER ADDRESSING THE GERMAN NATION ON OCTOBER 14, 1933

When the German people, trusting to the assurances given in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, laid down their arms in November, 1918, that marks the end of a fateful warfare for which perhaps individual statesmen, but certainly not the peoples themselves can be held responsible. The German nation fought so heroically because it was fighting in the sacred conviction that it had been wrongfully attacked, and that therefore right was on its side. Of the magnitude of the sacrifices which the German people—having to rely almost entirely on its own resources—made during those years, other nations can scarcely have any conception. If, in the days following the armistice, the world had stretched out a hand to its vanquished opponent, in the spirit of fairness, mankind would have been spared endless sorrow and countless disappointments.

It was the German people who suffered the deepest disappointment. Never has a conquered nation so earnestly striven to help heal the wounds of its former enemies, as did the German nation in the long years in which it fulfilled the conditions which had been imposed upon it. If all these sacrifices have not led to real, lasting peace between the nations, the cause of this is to be found in the very nature of a treaty which, by its attempt to perpetuate the discrimination between victors and vanquished, could not but perpetuate hatred and enmity. The nations could rightly have expected that out of this greatest war of all times, the lesson might have been learned that, especially for European nations, no possible gain could compare with the immensity of the sacrifice. As, therefore, in this treaty the German nation was charged to destroy its armaments in order to make world-disarmament possible, countless millions believed that this demand was the sign of growing enlightenment.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE DESTROYED THEIR ARMS.

Believing that their former enemies would fulfil their part of the treaty

obligations, the German people honoured their side of the bargain with almost fanatical sincerity. Land, naval and air material was destroyed in countless numbers. In place of an army which once numbered a million, a small professional army, with utterly inadequate arms, was established in accordance with the demands of the victor powers. The political destinies of the nation were at this time in the hands of men whose outlook had its roots in the world of the victor states. The German nation had every right to expect that, if for this reason alone, the rest of the world would keep its word in the same way that the German people, by the sweat of their brows, in deep distress, and under terrible deprivations, were fulfilling their part of the agreement.

No war can freeze the stream of time, no peace can be the perpetuation of war. A time must come when victor and vanquished must find the way once more to common understanding and mutual trust.

One and a half decades the German nation has waited in the hope that the end of the war would at length lead to the end of hatred and enmity. The object of the Treaty of Versailles did not seem, however, to give mankind a lasting peace, but rather to perpetuate hatred forever.

.....

It was Germany that had to suffer most under these results of the Treaty, and the general insecurity which has arisen therefrom has affected Germany more than any other nation. The unemployed figure rose to a third of the number normally employed in the nation. That means, however, that in Germany, with a population of 65 millions, counting the families of the unemployed, 26 million people had not only no subsistence, but the future held absolutely nothing in store for them.

It was only a question of time when this army of economic outcasts would have become an army of fanatics politically and socially estranged from the world.

One of the oldest nations in the modern civilized world stood, with 6 million Communists, on the brink of a catastrophe to which only the stupid could be blind. Had the red fire spread over Germany, the western countries of Europe would soon have learned that it was not a matter of indifference to them whether, on the Rhine and on the North Sea, a revolutionary and expanding Asiatic power stood watch, or whether the land was populated by peaceful German peasants and working men who wished only to earn their daily bread in friendship with their neighbours of the western world.

In saving Germany from this threatening catastrophe the National Socialist movement saved not only the German nation but also did a historical service to the whole of Europe.

And this National Socialist revolution had but one aim: The restoration of order in our own country, the providing of work and bread for our starving masses and the proclamation of honour, loyalty and decency as the ground bases of our national morale, and this can do no harm to other nations but only be of the highest general good. If the National Socialist movement had not represented the highest of ideals, it could never have

succeeded in saving our nation from the final catastrophe. To these ideals it has remained true, not only when it was struggling for power, but since it has attained that power.

We it was who fought against whatever of depravity and lack of honour, of fraud and corruption had raised its head in our nation since the fateful Treaty of Versailles. This movement it was that bound itself to restore the standards of truth, honour and decency without respect of persons.

For eight months we have been conducting a fearless campaign against that Communism which is threatening our entire nation, our culture, our art and our public morals. We have made an end of denials of the Deity and the crying down of religion. We must humbly thank God that He has not permitted our fight against distress and unemployment, and for the saving of the German peasantry, to be in vain.

Within the framework of a programme for which we had calculated four years, we have, in eight short months, reinstated in the process of production two a a quarter millions out of six million unemployed. The best witness to this tremendous achievement is the German nation itself. It will prove to the World how solidly it stands behind a regime which has no other purpose than by peaceful endeavor and a sturdy morale to co-operate in the reconstruction of a world which today is in an unhappy state.

The world, however, which we are not harming in any way, and from which we only ask that it allow us to go about our business in peace, has been submerging us for months under a flood of untruths and calumnies. While in Germany the revolution was in process, which, unlike the French and Russian revolutions, did not indulge in massacres and murder hostages, did not, as in the time of the communes in Paris or the red revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary, destroy buildings and works of art by fire, but, on the contrary, smashed not one shop-window, plundered no shops and did not damage a single house, unscrupulous agitators have been spreading a flood of atrocity stories which can be compared only with those that were manufactured by the same elements at the beginning of the War.

The leaders of the New Germany have nothing in common with the traitors in office of November 1918.

All of us, just like every decent Englishman and every decent Frenchman, did our duty to our country at the risk of our lives. We are not responsible for the war, and we are not responsible for what happened during the war, and we only feel ourselves responsible for what every man of honour had to do when his nation was in need and for what we also did. We cling to our nation with the same unbounded love that leads us wholeheartedly to desire with other nations an understanding which we also endeavour to arrive at, wherever we are given the possibility of doing so. But, as the representatives of an honourable nation and as men of honour, it is impossible for us to be members of institutions on terms that are bearable to only a man without a sense of honour. As far as we are concerned, there may formerly have been men who may have believed that they could

be parties to international agreements on such oppressive terms. It is not worth while examining the question as to whether they were the best men of our nation, but it is certain that they were not supported by the best of our nation. The world can have an interest in dealing only with the men of honour and not with the doubtful characters in a nation, and in concluding agreements with the former and with no others. But it must then, for its part, take into account the honourable feelings and susceptibilities of such a regime, just as we are thankful to be able associate with men of honour.

But this is all the more necessary as it is only in such an atmosphere that the measures are to be found that lead to a real appeasement of the nations. For the only possible spirit for such a conference is one of honest understanding, or else all these endeavours are doomed to failure from the start.

Since we have gathered from the official representatives of a number of Great Powers that these Powers are not prepared to consider real equality of rights for Germany at present, it is also impossible at present for this Germany to continue to impose her company on other nations in such an unworthy position.

The threats of force, if put into practice, could only amount to breaches of international law.

The German Government is most profoundly convinced that its appeal to the whole German nation will prove to the world that the Government's love of peace, and also its views on the subject of honour, represent the longing for peace and the code of honour of the entire nation.

In order to prove this assertion, I have decided to request the Reich President to dissolve the German Reichstag and, at a General Election combined with a plebiscite, to provide the German nation with the opportunity of

MAKING A HISTORICAL DECLARATION,

not only in the sense of approving the Government's principles, but also in that of an unconditional association with them.

May the world be convinced by this declaration that, in this struggle for equality of rights and honour, the German nation declares that it holds identically the same views as its Government, but that both are inspired at heart by no other wish than to co-operate in putting an end to an era of tragic errors and regrettable quarrelling and fighting among those who, as the inhabitants of the continent in cultural importance the greatest of all, have a common mission to fulfil in future towards the whole of humanity. May this great demonstration by our nation in favour of peace and honour be successful in providing the internal relations of the European states with that pre-requisite necessary, not only for putting an end to the quarrels and disputes of centuries, but also for the building up afresh of a better community of nations, namely

THE RECOGNITION OF A HIGHER COMMON DUTY ARISING OUT OF COMMON EQUAL RIGHTS.

CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER BEFORE THE REICHSTAG
ON JANUARY 30, 1934*

Representatives! Members of the German Reichstag!

If, looking back today, we call the year of 1933 the year of the national-socialist revolution, then, in the future, an unbiassed judgment of its events and happenings will embody this designation into the history of our nation as a correct one. In doing that, not the moderate outward form of that revolution, but the inner magnitude of the transformation which this one year has given to the German nation in all fields and in all directions of its life, will be considered decisive. In scarcely twelve months a whole world of conceptions and institutions was abolished and a new world was put in its place. What has happened within this short space of time before the eyes of all of us,—would have been thought and designated even on the eve of the memorable 30th of January 1933,—by the doubtlessly overwhelming majority of our people and certainly by the bearers, spokesmen and representatives of the former regime, to be a fantastic utopia.

It is true that such an historical phenomenon would have been quite unthinkable, if it had owed the command for its happening merely to the flash of thought of a whimsical human mind or even to the play of chance.

Instead,—the conditions precedent for what has happened had formed themselves and were the automatic results of the developments of many years. A terrible distress cried out to be alleviated. In fact the hour was merely waiting until a will was ready and prepared to execute the historical mandate.

.....

When on January 30, a year ago, our General Field Marshal, our highly esteemed President of the Nation, by means of a decision, truly magnanimous in view of everything that had happened and preceded it, entrusted me with the formation and leadership of the government of Germany, the national-socialist party shouldered a responsibility the greatness of which did not seem to correspond to its influence or to the part it had previously played. At that time, with only two ministers, I entered a cabinet which then held a reserved opinion of the movement and of me personally, and I gave before the nation my promise to tackle the tasks imposed upon us by history and providence, and to seek for them a comprehensive solution.

In that hour I considered myself to be only a representative of and a fighter for my people. I was convinced that even if, at that moment, a countless multitude inevitably lacked an understanding of the true meaning of the mission which our movement had to perform, nevertheless in a short time our actual deeds would meet with the intuitive assent of the nation.

*Authorized translation of the official text.

Thus from that historical hour, I have never conceived my mission to be other than one of the whole German nation, even if consciously or unconsciously millions of men then did not realize this fact or possibly did not want to believe it.

I have never seen in purely outward power any possible substitute for the confidence of the nation, but have always honestly striven to convert the power of authority into the strength of confidence. I can, therefore, admit with pride that just as the national-socialist party had its roots exclusively in the people, so we as a government have never had any thought than that which did not originate in the people, with the people, and for the people.

.....

For over seventy years . . . [political] parties have been a living part of the German nation, and even if they underwent changes in detail, in essence they seemed to be immortal. Indeed they grew increasingly important. Since 1918, the constitution of the nation rested on them and proclaimed them (although in reality they fermented the decomposition of the state) to be the foundation stones of the life of the state. For seventy years they continually increased their importance in the state and in the end bartered and exchanged power, one with the other, as the only object of their desire and interest. From their own point of view, they dominated German legislation. This resulted in a degradation of the Nation to being the executor of their interests. And even when Germany lost a war, this fact hardly affected the parties. And when the German nation lost its freedom, the parties insisted on their rights all the more. And when at last the German nation was confronted with hopeless misery, even destruction, the parties more than ever completely tyrannized public life.

.....

Within one year of the national-socialist revolution we have overthrown the parties. Not only have we broken their power, but we have abolished them and eliminated them from our German nation. Whether they revolved as satellites around the second and third internationals, whether they represented the middle classes, the interests of catholicism, the programs of an evangelical socialism, the ambitions of a financial autocracy, even to the contemptible representation of our rootless intellectualism, they have all gone. The strength of our national life during this year arose victoriously above the ruins of a sunken world.

What are all the legislative measures of decades in comparison with the power which this single fact represented?

In past days new governments were formed, but in the last year we have formed a new people.

And just as we have overcome the symptoms of the political disintegration of our nation, so have we this year already begun to fight against the symptoms of economic disintegration.

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CHANCELLOR ADOLF HITLER BEFORE THE REICHSTAG ON
JULY 13, 1934

Mutinies are broken but iron laws remain eternally the same. If some one questions me why we did not invoke an ordinary court to deal with the men I can only tell him: In this hour I was responsible for the fate of the German nation, therefore the supreme court of the German people during these twenty-four hours consisted of myself.

PB